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THE GODDESS FORTUNA IN IMPERIAL ROME: CULT, ART, TEXT

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The Goddess Fortuna in Imperial Rome: Cult, Art, Text

by

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Dedication

For Silvia and Emilia.

Acknowledgements

This study of Fortuna in the imperial period (up to the Severan dynasty) presents many aspects of the goddess through an examination of the material culture of Rome, which includes the results of the Romans' social-political, religious, artistic, architectural, and literary endeavors. I have not presented a catalogue, but, rather, I have attempted to underline the multivalent personality of Fortuna through some key, revealing examples of cult, art, architecture, and literature. Throughout, I argue that Fortuna is rich in meaning, acquiring new significance during the imperial period (largely through new iconography and new cults and cultic associations, related to the emperor and imperial cult), inherently an uncertain rather than a benevolent one, and distinguished from, though related to Tyche.

I began work on the topic at the end of 1997. I had the opportunity to explore the issues of Fortuna cults on site in Italy, through a Fulbright Fellowship (1998-1999) and a Lewis B. Cullman Rome Prize Fellowship at the American Academy (1999-2000). I would like to thank the Academy and its staff, especially the Mellon Professor in Charge of Classics, Archer Martin, for their support during my stay. Another year at UT,

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To Silvia, to whom I dedicate this book, along with our precious, five-month-old Emilia Rose, I bet that you are more satisfied with this finished work than I am, as you have sustained me in every imaginable way in this long study, as well as every other aspect in our lives together.

The Goddess Fortuna in Imperial Rome:
Cult, Art, Text

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Fortuna in imperial Rome was a complex, multivalent deity, venerated with particular fervency during the first and second centuries CE. This study presents an examination of the continual evolution of the cult and image of goddess in case studies from cult settings, artistic depictions, and literary descriptions, revealing the multiple meanings that she conveyed to Romans and Greeks during the imperial period.

Fortuna's evolving character was due to a variety of political, religious, social exigencies. Romans considered her a single, universalized deity and qualified her with over ninety epithets, according to different settings and needs. However, despite Fortuna's strong rapport with Tyche, the modern term "Tyche-Fortuna" has only served to obscure the persona of Fortuna because it has been interpreted variously in religious, art historical, and literary studies; Fortuna did not simply become Tyche in the imperial period. In the first chapter, two studies of Tyche statues demonstrate that the Romans

influenced the image of Tyche as much as the Greeks influenced that of Fortuna. Fortuna's image continued to change during the imperial period. For example, Fortuna statuary received new iconographical features in a Roman setting, including a rudder resting on a globe and a rudder resting on a wheel, reflecting her novel role as guarantor of the empire and the emperor.

The background of Fortuna in Rome included shrines and temples dedicated to the goddess from Rome's primordial past, as well as features adopted and adapted from the cult of Tyche during the Republican period. The second and first centuries BCE witnessed the transformation of Fortuna from national deity to personal patron of various Roman generals, from Catulus to Julius Caesar.

A new development in the cult of Fortuna took place under Augustus. In the Campus Martius, the figure of Fortuna figures prominently in a number of Augustan buildings, in particular, the Pantheon that was modeled, in part, after the Tychaion in Alexandria.

Most explicitly, the role of Fortuna in Augustan Rome became focused on the cults of Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, directly tied to the persona of the emperor as kingmaker and guarantor of dynastic succession.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: An Introduction to Fortuna in Imperial Rome– Cult, Art, Text. Two case studies of Tyche in the imperial period and general background

This study of the Roman goddess Fortuna in the chronological context of the late first century BCE and first and second centuries CE begins not in imperial Rome, which is the geographical focus of the examination of the goddess, but, instead, the Greek East. Much attention has already been concentrated on the effect of the cult of Tyche, Fortuna's Greek counterpart, on the cult of Fortuna in Italy, during the Hellenistic period.[1] However, the identity and iconography of Tyche were further developed in the imperial period, as a result of the dynamic relationship of the Roman emperors with Tyche and the citizens and cities of the Greek East, in which the Greek East adopted Roman ideas and symbols.[2] The brief case studies below illuminate that the continued interest in the cult of Tyche during the imperial period will find parallels with the cult of imperial Fortuna in Rome, which also became closely associated with the persona of the Roman emperor. Both of these examples center on two Tyche statues. The first is a

[1] E.g., Champeaux (1982), (1987), Chapters 2-3.

[2] I have chosen to use the term "adoption" rather than "Romanization" to express the influence of Roman art and political ideas on those of the Greek East. Although recently the term "Romanization" has generated much attention, the concept remains under discussion. See

unique creation from Sparta, which conveys a series of complicated messages reflecting the role of the emperor and Rome in the Greek East. The second represents the best known, most frequently reproduced statue of Tyche in antiquity, which underwent further iconographical and symbolic development under the Roman emperors.

TYCHE BETWEEN GREECE AND ROME[3]

Description of the head of a statue of Tyche found in Sparta

Over twenty years ago, the Pentelic marble statue head of a goddess (Sparta Museum Inv. No. 7945) was discovered in Sparta during a rescue excavation on Triakosion Street, south of Sparta's acropolis.[4] The head had been severed from its body in late antiquity and was used for building material.[5] The head and neck measure 26 centimeters in height (the face is 20 centimeters, the crown, 11.5 centimeters), indicating that originally the statue (if standing) was ca.

Mattingly (1997) 7-26 for a recent discussion of "Romanization" and Roman imperialism. Also, see Woolf (1998) 1-23 (Romanization), 206-223 (Religion), and 238-249 (Being Roman).

[3] This section is indebted to the study of the Sparta Tyche head in Palagia (1994) 64-75.

[4] Illustrations: ibid., figs. 35-43.

[5] Ibid., 69. The head had been used as rubble fill in a building that post-dated the creation of the statue, according to Palagia's observation that mortar is visible on the left side of the head.

1.82 meters, i.e., life-sized or under.[6] Nothing is known about its original context.[7]

Based on her comparative examination of the sculpting techniques for the drillwork in the hair, rasped left cheek and neck, and hairstyle with sculptures of similar hairstyle and surface rendering, the archaeologist O. Palagia has dated it convincingly to the Hadrianic period.[8]

As for the individual features, the face is plump with a double chin, and the lips, slightly parted, reveal the upper teeth. The locks of her hair are both rich and wavy, divided into sections with drill channels. The hair is parted in the middle and pulled to the back of the head, possibly for a veil. Some curls are visible behind the ears. The surface of the left half of the front of the crown is damaged, obscuring the central small-scale figure standing over the part in the hair. The surface of the left brow (down to above the eye) and the hair above the left ear are damaged. The nose is broken off, but the nostrils are well preserved. A drill was used in the hair, nostrils, and mouth. The top of the crown is hollowed out, and the back of the head, roughly carved with a tooth chisel, is recessed, originally filled in with a separate piece of marble.[9] The head is turned

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[6] Measurements and height estimate in ibid., 70 fn. 36. The statue, therefore, was not colossal in scale, which is at least ca. two meters, for commemorative statues (heroic scale) or deities.

[7] Ibid., 67-74. See the discussion below.

[8] Ibid., 70-73.

[9] Ibid., 70 suggests that the top of the crown was hollowed out to reduce weight. Ibid., 70, 73 also suggests that a lost piece of marble was inserted at the back of the head, for a veil. The surface of the lower half of the hair around the figure's neck is damaged but appears only roughed out. The recess identified by Palagia as carefully carved with a tooth chisel describes three-quarters of the

slightly to the viewer's left; the left side of the face (less visible?) was less carefully finished than the right side.[10]

The statue head wears a mural crown, i.e., a crown with crenellations that imitate the tops of city walls.[11] The city walls include towers with windows. Two towers flank an open gate on the crown in the area above each ear. On the statue's left side, the surface of the wall and towers is damaged. On the right side of the statue, however, the tower to the right of the gate is well preserved. Three small, square windows are visible at the top of this tower. The section of wall above the statue's face has been entirely destroyed, with the exception of a single tower window, to the left of a small figure.

The walls are, in fact, decorated in the front with two small-scale figures. The sex of the figures is unclear, except that the revealed lower legs obviate a female figure.[12] The central small-scale figure, of which only the right leg is well preserved, stands on axis with the center line of the statue's face, with legs spread out over the central part in the statue's hair. The better-preserved figure on the viewer's left wears a long-sleeved garment (belted twice at the waist) that extends to above the knees. He/she wears a cape, which billows in the wind behind, and cap. He/she looks at the first figure and extends the left arm toward him/her. The

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area. The far right quarter of the back of the mural crown has an even less-finished surface, more roughly carved with a larger tooth chisel or point chisel.

[10] Observation in ibid., 70. Rasp marks appear on the left cheek and side of neck.

[11] For a similar depiction of a mural crown, see the first century CE statue of Mater Magna found at Formiae: ibid., 66-67, figs. 37, 38, Naumann (1983) 249, cat. 554, pl. 41.1-2.

smaller figure holds a stick-like object, which curves at the top, in his/her right hand.

Identification of the statue head

Who is the figure? An ancient viewer would do just what we are doing, look at the crown; the now missing inscription might or might not have said who this was. The mural crown is the typical attribute both of Cybele (Mater Magna in the West), the Anatolian mother goddess, and Tyche, the Greek goddess of Fate or Chance.[13] Palagia has interpreted the statue as Tyche since no archaeological or literary evidence attests the cult of Cybele in Sparta.[14] In contrast, Tyche's presence in Sparta (both Laconia and Messene) is strong from the early Hellenistic[15] through the imperial Roman periods[16] in the form of dedications, according to epigraphic evidence (discussed below).

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[12] The clothed chest signifies that the figure cannot be an Amazon, who was traditionally depicted with a bared breast. See below for further discussion.

[13] The identification of a mural-crowned female figure as Tyche or Cybele remains unresolvable without the aid of an accompanying inscription or another iconographical feature (e.g., Tyche's rudder or Cybele's lion). For the iconographical features of Cybele, see Simon (1997) 744-766, Naumann (1983) 28; for Tyche's, see Villard (1997) 115-125 and Chapter 2.

[14] Palagia (1994) 64-75. The iconographical features of the mural crown, discussed below, leave open the possibility that the figure is, indeed, Mater Magna. See fn. 42.

[15] E.g., Hamdorf (1964) 37-39, 97-100, esp. 98 (297A, 298, 299).

[16] Three inscriptions record the cult of Tyche in Sparta during the imperial period, discussed below.

The mural crown of Tyche was derived from Near Eastern iconography[17] and first appeared on depictions of Tyche representing individual cities on coins during the Classical period, before Cybele appeared with the mural crown.[18] By the imperial period, however, both Tyche and Cybele regularly appeared with the mural crown.

The mural crown soon became the standard attribute of city Tychai. The sculptor Eutychides (active around the beginning of the third century BCE)[19] created the statue of the Tyche of Antioch, wearing the mural crown, which became the most famous and widely recognized representation of a city Tyche throughout the Mediterranean.[20]

Despite its regularized iconography (i.e., the mural crown), the Tyche head from Sparta shows a peculiar trait: two small-scale fragmentary figures are visible on the front of her mural crown, depicted with two entrances and several towers. Among Tyche and Cybele statuary, the appearance of figures on the mural crown in any period is without parallel and are thus central to the interpretation of the statue.

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[17] Metzler (1994) 76-85, Ridgway (1990) 243-244, fn. 24; see below.

[18] See Broucke (1994) 34-49 for a synopsis of the development of Tyche as representative of cities. He states that earliest example of Cybele with a mural crown dates to 270 BCE**.** Naumann (1983) 167 fn. 32, 242-246 (relief in Venedig) and Hörig (1979) both date the first appearance of the mural crown of Cybele to no earlier than the early third century BCE. *RRC* 322 1a and 1b, dating to 102 BCE, are the earliest representations of Mater Magna with mural crown on Roman coinage. For an example of Tyche with the mural crown: diadrachm of Euagoras II. Reverse: Tyche of Salamis wearing a mural crown, minted in Salamis (Cyprus), 361-351 BCE. *BMC* 67.c.144.10, Broucke (1994) 36 fig. 17.

[19] Ancient sources that mention Eutychides and his statue are Pausanias 6.2.6-7, 6.3.6, Pliny *N.H.* 35.51, 34.78, *Anth. Gr*. 9.709, Malalas 8.200-201. See Pollitt (1990) 109-110.

Small-scale figural decoration on ornamental headpieces dates back to Archaic works, such as the small figures on the caryatid "hats" represented on the Siphnian Treasury frieze.[21] The shield of the Athena Parthenos statue was decorated with Amazons and Greeks fighting before the city walls.[22] An ornamental shield from the Sparta acropolis, which predates the Athena Parthenos shield, depicts an Amazonomachy as well.[23] During the Roman imperial period, there are many more examples of decorative headpieces on statues, like the helmet of the protagonist of the Augustan or Tiberian "Pasquino group" found in the Augustan or Julio-Claudian villa in Sperlonga, and the decorated crowns of Artemis of Ephesus and Aphrodite of Aphrodisias.[24] In the first and second centuries, metal relief work became popular on gladiator helmets throughout the Roman world.[25] Sparta itself had an established tradition in metal relief work on metal statuary.[26] Military gear with narrative scenes in relief also appears since the first century BCE in Latin literature as a *topos*, e.g., the shield of Aeneas in

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[20] The statue is analyzed in detail in the second section, 22ff.

[21] Stewart (1990) 128-129, figs. 187-198.

[22] Pausanias 1.24.5-7, Pliny, *N.H.* 36.18-19, Thucydides 2.13.5, Pollitt (1990) 57-58 Boardman (1985) figs. 97-109, 110 (reconstruction), Stewart (1990) 157-160, 257-263.

[23] Palagia (1993) 167-175 discusses and dates the statue of Athena, made by an East Greek artist, to the late archaic period.

[24] Pasquino group: Weiss (2000) 111-165. Cult statue of Artemis of Ephesus: Fleischer (1986b) 755-763, Stewart (1990) 248-249. Aphrodite of Aphrodisias: Squarciapino (1987) 65-71, Fleischer (1986a) 151-154, Smith (1991) 77 fig. 94, copy of a second century BCE original.

[25] E.g., Bronze helmet from Pompeii: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. No. 5373, first century CE. Canciani (1981) 389.127. The helmet depicts many scenes before the walls of Troy, including Aeneas, holding up his father Anchises, and leading his son Ascanius. The bronze cuirass statue of Hadrian from Israel may depict a scene from the *Aeneid* on the breastplate: Gergel (1991).

[26] Pausanias 7.17.1-3, Pollitt (1990) 26 describing the work of Gitiadas.

Vergil's *Aeneid* (6.626-670), which will be important for the new interpretation of the figures below.

Identification of the figures on the mural crown

Palagia identified these two fragmentary figures as dueling participants in an Amazonomachy, (fight between Amazons and Greeks), a well-known *topos* since the sixth century from the Italo-Greek world.[27] In a new analysis of the small-scale figures below, I propose a new identification of the figures: Aeneas and Ascanius fleeing before the walls of Troy, a very powerful and frequent image, if not icon, in the West (though rare in the Greek East) during the imperial period.

Palagia based her conclusions on a comparison between figural scenes found on Roman helmets for cavalry sports that date to the first through third centuries CE, on which Amazons and Greeks often are depicted fighting before city walls.[28] Palagia continues her analysis by comparing the so-called Amazon and Greek figures on the Tyche mural crown with other depictions of Amazonomachies, such as the one on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus[29] and

[27] E.g., Ridgway (1999) 156-162 for a recent account on the Amazonomachies represented in Greek temples, Palagia (1994) 70-71.
[28] Palagia (1994) 70.
[29] Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, Amazonian Frieze, figs. 41-42, as cited in Palagia (1994) 70.

another, on the metopes from a Spartan Amazonomachy.[30] She describes the figure located to the left of center on the Tyche mural crown is as an Amazon, dressed in a belted *chiton* and windblown *chlamys*, holding a bow in her right hand.[31] However, the so-called bow only curves at the top end. Her left hand extends towards her Greek opponent, of whom only a leg and hand remain. Palagia does not explain why the Greek is noticeably larger in scale than the Amazon, or why the two figures are holding hands. She concludes that the legend of the Spartan repulsion of an Amazonian attack (Pausanias 3.25.3) was the driving force behind the Spartan interest in Amazonomachies in art.[32] Palagia's observations leave some unanswered questions about the figures on the mural crown. The difference in scale of the figures and unconvincing identification of the "Amazon's" bow suggest that further examination is required. Indeed, a duel does not seem to be represented in the figures since the figure on the viewer's right seems to moving away rather than facing the one on the left. Furthermore, the well-preserved "Amazon" figure identified by Palagia does not have a bared breast, a typical identifying trait of an Amazon in art.

Instead, the fragmentary scene on the mural crown becomes clearer by comparison with the well-known depictions of Aeneas' flight from Troy, in which Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius appear as a group. Aeneas carries on his

[30] The metopes are located in the Sparta Museum, and date to the first century BCE, as cited in Palagia (1994) 71.
[31] Ibid., 70.

shoulders his father, Anchises (who carries the Penates), and he holds the hand of his son, Ascanius, who wears a Phrygian cap. This figural composition became standardized in the Augustan period through the "Hellenistic" style[33] statue group in the Forum Augustum, described by Ovid in his account of the forum (*Fasti* 5.563: *hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro*).[34] On his left shoulder Aeneas, dressed in a cuirass, bears his father, Anchises, who holds the Penates. To Aeneas' right (the viewer's left) stands his small son Ascanius. Ascanius invariably appears as a boy, dressed in a belted long-sleeved garment, wearing his trademark symbol, a Phrygian cap. In addition, Zanker notes, Ascanius holds a stick curved at the top, used for catching rabbits, a reminder of the flight from the countryside around Mt. Ida.[35] This stick is also a shepherd's crook, referring to Anchises' role as shepherd on Mt. Ida. The group is very popular in the western half of the empire, but appears with much less frequency in the Greek East.[36]

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[32] Ibid., 71.

[33] The figures generally are depicted in a moment of violent motion, as Aeneas pulls along his son to escape from their destroyed city Troy. For an assessment on the limitations of modern art historical terms such as "Hellenistic" and "Classical" in the Roman world see Pollitt (1986) passim, Smith (1991) 7-18, Galinsky (1996) chapters 4 and 7, esp. 337-338 with extensive bibliography on the subject.

[34] For the extensive bibliography and illustrations of this group, reproduced in many media, including statues, wall paintings, coins, lamps, etc., see Spannagel (1999) 86-89, 90-132, tab. 3.3, 5, tab. 4.1-11, tab. 5.1-11, 6.1-2, 7.5. See also the Aeneas sculptural group in Mérida: de la Barrera, and Trillmich (1996) 119-138. A multitude of images of the Aeneas group can be found in Galinsky (1969) Chapter 1; Canciani (1981) 381-396. A. Geyer, *Die Genese narrativer Buchillustration* (1989), E. Simon, *Catalogue Troy Exhibition*, Stuttgart (2001). A wall painting in Pompeii is considered an accurate representation of the statue group: Pompeii IX.13.5, Spinazzola (1953) fig. 183.

[35] Zanker (1988a) 202.

[36] The compilation of the Aeneas group in Spannagel (1999) 90-132 demonstrates that the majority of the images were found in the western half of the Mediterranean.

Reexamination of the figures on the mural crown confirms the hypothesis that they are Ascanius led by Aeneas from Troy.[37] The best–preserved figure (to the right of center) is dressed as follows: a belted long-sleeve tunic, a cap, whose outline is just noticeable, and a cape that flaps behind in the wind. The figure's right hand holds a stick that curves only at the top; this cannot be a bow, as Palagia argues, because a bow is curved at both ends. This figure is Ascanius, who wears a Phrygian cap and holds a shepherd's stick. The left hand of Ascanius is grasped by that of another figure, badly preserved (only the right leg and hand are extant), who is more than just "taller."[38] The angle of the second figure's extended leg suggests that this figure is moving violently to the right. This is the adult hero, Aeneas, who is rushing ahead. He is pulling along his small son, whose hand he holds. A swirl of Aeneas' cloak is visible above the head of Ascanius. The bareness of Aeneas' leg (until his upper thigh) and the faint outline of the skirt that was worn under the cuirass indicate that he originally was depicted in the same Roman body-cuirass as in the standardized depictions of Aeneas fleeing Troy. On Aeneas' shoulders would have rested his father, Anchises, but this portion is now missing.

The scene on the mural crown contains a dramatic narrative for the viewer. The two figures are fleeing outside the walls of Troy, represented by the

[37] Two examples of the Aeneas group represented within the architectural setting of a city wall gate include Spannagel (1999) tab. 5.11 (cameo, private collection) and tab. 6.1 (marble relief in Rome, Palazzo Poli), late first/ second century CE.

mural crown itself. Two gates are open, on the far left and right of the central figures (as previously mentioned, above the ears of the Tyche head). Since the figures are moving to the viewer's right, they have exited from the open gate located on the viewer's left. As already noted, the right side is the better carved side of the statue head and the direction in which the statue turns. Given the carver's attention to this side of the face, it was probably the more visible side in the statue's original architectural and/or landscaped setting. The viewer first would have seen this side of the face of the statue and noted the visible open gate on the mural crown. Only by looking (or walking) further to his/ her right would the viewer clearly have seen the protagonists of the scene and clearly understood the context: Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius escaping from the burning city of Troy.

Reason for the commission of the statue and its original setting

The appearance of these figures on a votive or cult statue of Tyche is an example of the adoption of Roman imagery (the Aeneas group) in a Greek setting (Sparta). Romans regularly borrowed from the repertoire of Greek mythology and art; the representation of Roman myths in the Mediterranean world is, in

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[38] *Contra* Palagia (1994) 70, the varying scale of the two figures is purposeful, identifying a child and adult.

comparison with Greek myths, rare. As we have seen, this applies especially to the presence of the Aeneas-Ascanius group in the Greek East.

The complex relationship between the East and West during the imperial period recently has become the subject of intense study.[39] Roman ideas and themes, though usually not myths, appeared frequently in the Greek East setting during the imperial period, in the form of statuary and monumental constructions, often dedicated by dual citizens of Rome and Greek cities. A famous example is the Trajanic-dated Tomb of Philopappos on the Mouseion hill in Athens.[40] The multi-storied façade of the tomb depicts the deceased Philopappos in the upper floor, seated, surrounded by prestigious ancestors, the Hellenistic Greek kings Antiochus IV (on the left) and Seleucus Nikator (on the right, now lost). The lower story depicts Philopappos in his consular chariot in Rome, preceded and followed by lictors. In this relief, however, Philopappos wears a radiate crown, commonly worn by Hellenistic kings, not Roman consuls.[41] The tomb presents a combination of Greek and Roman images (as well as an intermingling of motifs from the East and West) for both a local Greek audience and Romans living abroad in the Greek East, both familiar with the attributes of the Roman consul during the imperial period as well as the standard iconography of regal personages.

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[39] Many studies are cited in Sturgeon (2000) 659-667, Alcock, ed. (1997). Greeks under Romans: Habicht (1985) 117-140.
[40] Kleiner (1983), Kleiner (1992) 233-235 with bibliography.

The Sparta Tyche head, with the figural narrative on the statue's crown, also includes Greek and Roman images recognizable to an imperial audience in Sparta, which would have included transplanted Westerners and Latin speakers as well as local Greeks, and their own elites, who now often had dual, Roman citizenship. As Vergil's *Aeneid* exemplifies, Aeneas and Ascanius are the ancestors of the founders of Rome and the *gens Julia*, and therefore, symbols of Rome and the imperial family. Evidently, whoever commissioned the work and/or the artist intended to highlight a special relationship among Tyche, the Roman emperor Hadrian, and the city of Sparta by the novel addition to her mural crown of a crucial scene from the foundation legend of Rome and the *gens Julia*.[42]

The size (1.82 meters if standing), style, and imported Pentelic marble of the statue, also may suggest a public or civic function for the Tyche statue head from Sparta. It is unclear, however, which Tyche is represented in the statue. It may be any one of the Tychai mentioned in three imperial inscriptions, discussed by Palagia, two of which associate Tyche with the imperial cult.[43] *IG* 5.1.242 is the private dedication of an altar to Tyche as part of the imperial cult. *IG* 5.1.559,

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[41] Observation in Kleiner (1992) 235.

[42] Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.783-787 describes a similar conflation of images by associating Mater Magna (wearing a mural crown) with Roma, with the result that Mater Magna acts as the protective deity of Rome. See Getty (1955) and Wiseman (1984). The strong relationship that exists between Mater Magna and Aeneas in the *Aeneid* would have been recognizable to an educated audience in a statue of the Phrygian goddess wearing a mural crown of the city walls of Troy with the figure of Aeneas.

[43] Palagia (1994) 66; this paragraph closely follows Palagia's observations.

found at the Amyklaion, lists Sextus Eudamus Onasikrates' priesthoods. Onasikrates was the high priest of the imperial cult in the third century CE. His priesthoods include those of Tyche Sopratos, Artemis Patriotis, and Demeter and Kore "at the forts." In the inscription, a second list records the priesthoods of Tyche Tychagetis, Aphrodite Ourania, Hermes Ouranios, Dionysus, and Demeter and Kore "at the sanctuary of Dictynna." Pausanias (3.12.8) mentions both sites on the Aphetaid Road leading from the agora of Sparta. *IG* 5.1.364 records a list of dedications to Eleusinian Demeter, Kore, Tyche, Dionysus, Despoina, and Plouto; the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter is located at Kalyvia tis Sohas, west of Amyklai. Palagia, in fact, surmises that this inscription may have originated in the Demeter sanctuary.

Since the statue has a mural crown, the statue may also represent a city Tyche. Pausanias mentions the presence of a statue of the Demos of the Spartan people (3.11.10) in the market place, a figure related to the city Tyche. The tradition of placating Tyche in a public space was established as early as the third century BCE, when the Athenians erected a statue of Agathe Tyche in the Athenian agora.[44] The statue could have signified the Tyche of Sparta, in whose city the statue was erected. However, Sparta, unlike other ancient cities, never had a circuit of walls constructed for the defense of the city.

[44] Palagia (1982) 99-113, pls. 29-36 on an early statue as Tyche or Democratia, dated to the last quarter of the third century. The statue was once close to three meters tall and stood in the Athenian agora. Palagia (1982) 109ff., (1994) 65 asserts that the statue represents Tyche with a

By virtue of the depiction of the walls of Troy on the mural crown, the statue also could have represented the Tyche of Troy. Sparta and Troy possessed a strong bond through the cause of the Trojan War: Paris's theft of the Spartan princess Helen. As a result, the kings of Sparta and Mycenae led the Greek victory over Troy, which included the destruction of the city. For the ancient viewer, thoroughly familiar with the Trojan War, and Sparta's victorious role in it, the statue could represent a sort of apotropaic figure, warding off the fate of Troy from Sparta, possibly part of a larger sculpture group (discussed below).

The Romans themselves had deftly inserted their own origins into the Trojan myth cycle, in which the descendants of Aeneas (who had successfully escaped from Troy) founded Rome.[45] Therefore, the statue may also have depicted the Tyche of Rome; after all, in the Greek East, the goddess Roma was first conceived in the form of a city Tyche.[46]

The statue may also represent the Tyche of the emperor: Tyche Sebastoi (Augusti); however, dedications to Fortuna Augusta were rare in the Greek East.[47] Nevertheless, the association between Tyche and the emperor was well established in the imperial period. For example, Pausanias (4.31.10) describes

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cornucopia, but no trace of the cornucopia remains. The Tyche of the Demos appears in an inscription of 337/336 BCE: B. Merritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 356.

[45] E.g., Galinsky (1969), Gruen (1992) 6-51.

[46] Mellor (1981) 956-957, Chapter 5, 289ff.

[47] An exception is noted in Fears (1981c) 939: *IGRR* 3.260, a billingual inscription to Fortuna Aug. (Tyche Sebas..). For a discussion of Fortuna Augusta, see Chapter 5.

that the sanctuary of Asclepius in Messene included smaller shrines to Tyche, Artemis, and the Roman emperor.[48]

The agora is a possible site for a public votive dedication of such a Tyche statue. In his description of the agora of Sparta, Pausanias (3.11.4) mentions the temples of Julius Caesar and Augustus, within whose sanctuaries the Tyche statue, decorated with the Aeneas group on its mural crown, would have been very poignant. Indeed, this statue may have been part of a larger group, including a statue of the emperor Hadrian.

During the Hadrianic period (when the statue was commissioned), the emperor fostered clear associations between himself and Augustus and reinstated the close ties between the *gens Julia* and the Roman emperor.[49] After Augustus, all emperors symbolically became the new "founders" of Rome, like Romulus, the descendant of Aeneas and ancestor of the *gens Julia*.[50] In Rome, Hadrian manifested his tie with the *gens Julia* through the creation of the Temple of Venus (the divine founder of the *gens Julia*) and Roma and the reconstruction or repair of the many Augustan-age buildings, including the Pantheon, Saepta, and Forum

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[48] Habicht (1985) 38ff discusses the sanctuary of Asclepius in Messene. Archaeological study of the site (in Habicht, with bibliography) has uncovered the remains of the room in the sanctuary devoted to Tyche and her cult image.

[49] Boatwright (1987) 6, 51-52, 72-73, 96, 179-181.

[50] For Republican and Augustan associations between Romulus and prominent Roman statesmen: Spannagel (1999) 82-255, Evans (1992) 87-108 with bibliography. E.g., many emperors, such as Claudius, Vespasian, and Hadrian enlarged the city's sacred boundary, the pomerium, first established by Romulus: *LTUR* (1999) M. Andreussi, "Pomerium" IV.96-105, Richardson (1992) 293-296.

of Augustus.[51] The emperor also created his own Mausoleum in Rome, both emulating Augustus' and surpassing it, in size, scale, and decoration.[52] In addition, Hadrian spent much of his reign abroad, personally consecrating temples and altars to himself in Athens and Asia Minor (an imperial practice mirrored by locals' dedications in honor of visiting emperors), rivaling the number of similar monuments dedicated to Augustus in the Greek East.[53] In particular, Hadrian embellished or rebuilt Augustan projects in Athens.[54]

Why was the statue commissioned at this particular time? Hadrian did visit Sparta twice, in 124/5 CE and 128/9 CE. Although Palagia, too, suggests that this is an unprovable hypothesis, the quality of the work may indicate a commission in honor of Hadrian's arrival.[55] The commissioning of statues, usually of the emperor, was common for an imperial visit in the provinces, as cited above for Hadrian, and emperors in general.[56] The emperor's physical presence in one's hometown was an occasion to impress him and express one's loyalty to him.

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[51] Boatwright (1987): fn. 49, *LTUR* (1999) A. Cassatella, "Venus et Roma, aedes, templum," V.121-123, Richardson (1992) 409-411. Pantheon: Chapter 4. Hadrianic building projects in Rome: *S.H.A.* Had. 19.9-13, Pollitt (1992) 175.

[52] Fn. 49, *LTUR* (1996) H. von Hesberg, "Mausoleum Augusti: das Monument," III.234-237, Richardson (1992) 247-251, Davies (2000) 34-40, 95-96, 106-109.

[53] Price (1984) 68-69, Boatwright (2000) passim. Portrait statues of Hadrian erected in honor of him in the Eastern provinces: Pausanias 1.3.2, 1.18.6, 1.24.7, 8.19.1, Pollitt (1992) 180-181. Imperial portraiture: Pekáry (1985), Kleiner (1992) 19, passim, with general bibliography.

[54] E.g., Hadrian added to Augustus' restorations of the Temple of Zeus Olympios; Herodes Atticus rebuilt Agrippa's Odeon for Hadrian.

[55] Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 108-109, Palagia (1994) 72.

[56] Price (1984) passim and fn. 53.

Other Hadrianic activities in Sparta could have offered different motives for Spartans or Sparta to commission the Tyche statue in honor of the emperor. These include Hadrian's land grants to Sparta,[57] Hadrian's possible grain donation to the city in the 120s CE,[58] the Hadrianic construction of an aqueduct in Sparta,[59] and the city's bestowal of the honorary title of supreme Spartan citizen to the emperor (an action paralleled in Athens and Delphi).[60]

Commissioning a Tyche statue with a mural crown depicting one of the quintessential Augustan images was an overt way to demonstrate to all one's knowledge of Hadrian's personal interests and his attempt to imitate and emulate Augustus. The work was commissioned either by a single citizen, possibly one that enjoyed dual Roman-Spartan citizenship, by the city itself, favored by Roman emperors from the time the city sided with Octavian instead of Mark Antony during the battle of Actium,[61] or Romans living in Sparta.

In conclusion, we can surmise the following as possible original locations for the statue: an unattested sanctuary; one of the sanctuaries mentioned in the inscriptions, as a votive; the agora of Sparta, possibly in the vicinity of or within the temple of Julius Caesar or that of Augustus. The statue could even represent the city Tyche of Sparta, which could have been placed in the public space of the

[57] *IG* 5.1.34.11, *IG* 5.1.36.24-25, *IG* 5.1.44.7-8. Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 108-111, Boatwright (2000) 84-85.
[58] Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 152-153. *Contra*, Boatwright (2000) 92 fn. 43.
[59] Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 109. *Contra*, Boatwright (2000) 112.
[60] *IG* 5.1.32b.13-14, 33.5, 1314b.26, *SEG* 11.489.5. Boatwright (2000) 68 fn. 53.
[61] Cartledge and Spawforth (1989) 109-111.

agora analogous to the Tyche statue of Athens or the statue of the Demos of Sparta in the city's agora; this is unlikely, however, since Sparta did not have city walls, in contrast to the mural crown of the Tyche statue. If, instead, the statue is the Tyche of the emperor or the Tyche of Rome, the new Troy, whose cult was frequently coupled with that of the emperor,[62] it may have stood within or near the temples of the emperors Julius Caesar or Augustus, in honor of the emperor Hadrian's positive influence on the city.

As this examination of the head of the Sparta Tyche statue has demonstrated, the iconography of Tyche did not always remain the same, but, rather, changed frequently, according to the needs of the individual dedicator or city which commissioned the work, particularly during the imperial period. Indeed, the creation of new Tyche statuary with unique features was common during the imperial period in the Greek East. In addition to the Hadrianic Sparta Tyche statue, the Vespasianic creation of the city Tyche of Caesarea Maritima is a noteworthy example of formulation of a new city Tyche type during the imperial period.[63] The famous Hellenistic Tyche of Antioch statue also was subject to imperial reelaborations. Interest in and modification of this Tyche statue, in our statue's epoch, the subject of the following section, was echoed by the creation of

[62] From the Augustan period and onward, provinces were allowed to worship the emperor with Roma: Suet., *Aug*. 52. E.g., Mellor (1975), (1981), Price (1984), Galinsky (1996) 322ff. with general bibliography.
[63] Wenning (1986) 113-129, pls. 15-16.

a related Augustan and Vespasianic-phase Fortuna monument in the vicinity of the Theater of Marcellus in Rome (see Chapter 4, 253ff.).

THE TYCHE OF ANTIOCH AND THE INFLUENCE OF IMPERIAL ROME[64]

The Tyche of Antioch statue, commissioned around 300 BCE, was one of the most famous Tyche statues in the Greco-Roman world, according to the proliferation of its image in numerous media. The creation of other Tyche statues in Antioch, by Julius Caesar, Tiberius, Trajan, and Alexander Severus, based on or related to the original Tyche statue, reflects the continuation of the prominence of the Tyche statue during the imperial period. The contemporaneous proliferation of city Tychai on coinage of the Greek East, many of which emulate the Tyche of Antioch statue, underlines the renewed importance of the city Tyche statuary during the imperial period.

The statue: description

The nature of the Tyche of Antioch statue has been the subject of several, meticulous studies.[65] I would like to review the primary evidence concerning the statue and add, briefly, my own observations.

The basic information about the statue comes from three sources: Pausanias (second century CE), Pliny (first century CE) and Malalas (sixth century CE chronicler of Antioch).[66] Pausanias states, "Eutychides made the image of Tyche for the Syrians on the Orontes, a work that is held in great honor by the local people." (6.2.6-7). Seleucus Nikator founded Antioch on the Orontes River ca. 300 BCE (Strabo 17.750). Pliny (*N.H.* 34.51) recounts that Eutychides was active in the 121st Olympiad (296-293 BCE). Malalas (8.200-201), in his account of the foundation of the city, mentions that Seleucus sacrificed a girl Aimathe in an unknown location between the city and the river. He then set up a bronze statue of the sacrificed girl as the city Tyche, above the river, and sacrificed to this Tyche.

The iconographical features of the statue, distinct from the standard Tyche and Fortuna iconography (examined in Chapter 2), warrant a separate category, according to Ridgway.[67] Due to the proliferation of mostly small-scale copies of the Tyche of Antioch, her iconography has been reconstructed with accuracy.[68]

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[64] This section is indebted to the recent study of the Tyche of Antioch statue in Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 50-63.

[65] Dohrn (1960), Horn and Franke (1963) 35.404-410, Simon (1977) 351-355, Balty (1981) 840-851, with bibliography preceding 1981, Ridgway (1990) 233-238, esp. fn. 24 with bibliography to 1990, Stansbury-O-Donnell (1994) 50-63.

[66] The most recent study of Malalas and previous bibliography: E. Jeffreys, ed., *Studies in John Malalas* (1990). A new translation of the *Chronicle: The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott (1986).

[67] Ridgway (1990) 244.

[68] Fn. 65. For the issues concerning the nature of copies or "emulations" of statuary, see Bartman (1992) and Ridgway (1984), de Grummond and Ridgway, eds. (2000).

The figural composition is both pyramidal and triangular, consisting of a female figure, Tyche, seated on a rock-like base. At her feet is a man swimming in water, an allegorical figure of the Orontes River. The base represents Mt. Silpios. Antioch on the Orontes was situated at the bottom of the western slope of this mountain. Tyche's right leg is crossed over her left. She rests her extended right arm on her right knee. Representations depict Tyche holding either a palm or stalks of grain in her right hand (to be discussed below). She leans her weight on her left arm, which rests on the rock-like base upon which she is sitting. She wears a mural crown or a modius,[69] and her head is turned slightly to the left. Tyche's drapery consists of a short himation, whose tension folds extend from her left breast to left hand, and a chiton (whose heavy folds are gathered at the base), from which the right foot protrudes.

The pyramidal configuration of the goddess is based on Hellenistic depictions of the seated Muse,[70] totally alien to the development of the rest of Tyche's iconography (see the discussion in Chapter 2). The Muses were important figures in Seleucid art, especially because they were frequent companions of Apollo, the patron god of the Seleucid dynasty. The Muse Kalliope was another patron goddess of the city, with Apollo.[71] The Muses

[69] Simon (1977) 353-354 has discussed the influence of Cybele's iconographical feature of the mural crown. Metzler (1994) 76-85 demonstrates that the mural crown was a Near Eastern development, which was adopted for the decoration of the city Tyche. For a similar assessment of the Near Eastern influence on Tyche, see Calmeyer (1979) 347-365.
[70] Balty (1981), Ridgway (1989) 265-272, Ridgway (1990) 233-238.
[71] Discussed in Balty (1981) 481.

figured prominently in other Seleucid city foundations. In Seleucia in Pieria, near Mt. Olympos, where the Muses were venerated, a Muse appears as the city goddess, holding a cornucopia. Seleucus also founded the city Kalliope (Polybius 10.31.15, Appian, *Syr*. 57), named after the Muse. Creating a doublet to the Seleucus/ Aimathe story, Malalas records (11.275-276) that Trajan sacrificed a girl named Kalliope and dedicated a bronze statue of her in the guise of Tyche seated above a depiction of the Orontes River in the Roman theater.[72] According to Strabo's description of the city (17.750), the two most notable features were the Temple of Apollo located within the landscaped park, Daphne, inhabited by nymphs (in the form of natural springs). In antiquity, the identities of nymphs frequently were conflated with the Muses; for example, both were associated with natural sources of water,[73] which, as I will discuss below, also was an important attribute of Tyche and Fortuna.[74]

Original setting

The original architectural and topographical context in which the Tyche of Antioch statue was placed is unknown. Reconstructions are based upon the

[72] The passage will be further examined below. The Christian author includes the female sacrifice as a stock theme in his *Chronicle*, (e.g., 8.200-201, 10.235, 11.275-276). For a discussion on this theme, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 52-53 with bibliography. The important piece of information in Malalas' story about Trajan is that he cites the name of the muse Kalliope, suggesting that the author tapped into the older tradition equating Tyche with Kalliope.
[73] Larson (2000) 200, 210, 223-224.

iconographic details of the statue as well as Malalas' descriptions and numismatic depictions of the Roman-period Tyche statuary in Antioch.

The original Tyche of Antioch statue may have been placed in a sort of baldacchino, according to descriptions of other Tyche statues in Antioch. Malalas records that Seleucus transferred to Antioch a statue of Tyche from the city of Antigoneia, the city of his rival, Antigonus (8.201). Seleucus placed this bronze statue holding a cornucopia in a four-columned shrine (*tetrakionion*). The fact that Kalliope was depicted sitting atop the Orontes River suggests that the Trajanic dedication, a gilded bronze statue, was a remodeling or reconstruction of the original Tyche of Antioch statue.[75] Malalas states that this Trajanic statue of Tyche also was placed in a four-columned shrine (11.275-276), which does not appear on coinage before the Severan period.[76]

The location of the Trajanic statue at the imperial-period theater, within a nymphaeum (fountain) constructed at the center of the proscenium, may also indicate the original setting for the Hellenistic statue (11.275-276) or how the Romans eventually made the statue part of a fountain setting. Indeed, Tiberius may have been responsible for the placement of the statue in the theater when he initiated the construction of the imperial theater in Antioch (Malalas 10.235).[77] One small-scale copy of the Tyche of Antioch (0.75 meters high), found in the

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[74] E.g., Fortuna Huiusce Diei: Chapter 3, 169ff.; Fortuna in the Campus Martius: Chapter 4, 224ff.
[75] Balty (1981) 840-842, 850-851, Ridgway (1990) 233-238, Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 50-63.
[76] Dohrn (1960) 28, Balty (1981) 846.54-62 with bibliography.

vicinity of the Theater of Marcellus in Rome, has the hole in its base for a fountain setting.[78] Another, unpublished, white marble Tyche of Antioch statue (ca. 0.75 meters high), recently found in the excavations of A. Carandini along the eastern slope of the Palatine, also has a well-preserved base carved out in the center for a water channel. These second century CE examples may recall the Trajanic statue setting or, instead, evoke the Syrian setting of the Hellenistic Tyche statue.

In the Hellenistic period, impressive fountains with statuary appeared in the Greek East, e.g., the Nike of Samothrace.[79] By the first and second centuries CE the Romans produce their own, original sculptural-water displays, in Italy, e.g., Baiae and Sperlonga,[80] as well as the Greek East, e.g., Corinth.[81]

Still, in the Hellenistic period, the statue was thematically linked to the theater through its previously discussed rapport with Apollo, the Muses, and Daphne, a landscaped park fed by natural springs, as well as Tyche's own well-known role in the Hellenistic theater. Furthermore, as Simon has demonstrated,

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[77] For an interpretation of the passage, with bibliography, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 62 fn. 16.
[78] The entire statue is preserved, but the marble surface is ruined. Dohrn (1960) 22-23, no. 16, pls. 4-5, Balty (1981) 851, Ridgway (1990) 243-244 fn. 24, who erroneously states that the white marble statue is bronze.
[79] Stewart (1990) I.15, 77, 215, II.729-731, Smith (1991) 77-79.
[80] De Grummond and Ridgway, eds. (2000).
[81] Robinson (2001).

the Tyche of Antioch was closely affiliated with the Near Eastern goddess, Dea Syria, who was also frequently identified in an aquatic context.[82]

The depiction of the River Orontes also suggests the importance of water for the original depiction of the personification of the city. Pliny (*N.H.* 34.51, 34.78) describes another work of the artist Eutychides, a figural representation of the river Eurotas, which was "more liquid than water."[83] Apparently, the surface quality of the Orontes River statue was also made to appear wet. Such a depiction would have been that much more effective in the ambience of a water basin or fountain, as some scholars have suggested.[84] A Roman viewer would have found the portrayal of the river a very familiar scene; river effigies were common features of triumphal parades in Rome,[85] which were also immortalized on the small narrative friezes of triumphal arches (e.g., Arch of Titus).[86]

Many other factors suggest a watered setting for the original Tyche statue. Located on the Orontes River, Antioch was a port city, with its main port located fifteen miles downstream, at Seleucia in Pieria. Water was also an important feature of the goddess Tyche, originally a sea nymph.[87] This water attribute

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[82] Simon (1977) 353-354, Drijvers (1986) 355-358; the related goddess Atargatis: Fleischer (1986) 358.
[83] See also the description of the river statue in *Anth. Gr.* 9.709, by Philippos of Thessalonike, first century CE, Pollitt (1990) 110.
[84] E.g., Ridgway (1990) 235, B. Fehr, "Lectio Graeca- Lectio Orientalis. Uberlegungen zur Tyche vin Antiocheia," *Visible Religion* 7 (1990) 87-88.
[85] On the triumphal procession: Versnel (1970) passim.
[86] Arch of Titus: Pfanner (1983) 90, tab. 85.4, 86.7. Further, note the depiction of the Rhine River beneath the equestrian statue of Domitian: Statius, *Sil.* I.32-51, Pollitt (1992) 164.
[87] Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 360.

became visually canonized through her rudder, as well as her cornucopia (discussed in Chapter 2). Indeed, with these implements, both Tyche and Fortuna were closely associated with ports and commerce in the East and West, in such cities as Alexandria, Syracuse, Praeneste, Antium, and Rome (examined in Chapters 3-5).

The Trajanic Tyche statue reflected, as I have argued, very many of the original traits of the Hellenistic Tyche statue. The Trajanic Tyche statue was flanked and crowned by statues of Seleucus Nikator, the founder of Antioch, and Antiochus I, his son and heir to the Seleucid throne (Malalas 11.275-276).[88] These additional statues may well have constituted the original statuary group with the Hellenistic Tyche statue.

The Seleucid dynastic cult was established when Antiochus deified his father Seleucus (Phylarchus *ap*. Athen. 6.254f-255a, App. *Syr*. 63). The placement of the two most important individuals from the Seleucid dynasty (dynastic founder and successor) in the company of the city Tyche seems more fitting as a dynastic group contemporaneous with the founding of the city. This statue group is very much like the Hellenistic statuary inside the Tychaion in Alexandria, which glorified the city's founder, Alexander the Great, and his "successor" and founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemy I Soter (Chapter 3).

[88] *Contra*, Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 63 fn. 30 suggests that the two Hellenistic kings are a Trajanic addition. Dohrn (1960) 36 hypothesizes that the Trajanic group is a replacement of the original Tyche statue.

The Trajanic sculptural ensemble would have been a faithful reproduction of the original Hellenistic group. In contrast to Malalas' description of the Trajanic statuary group, the Trajanic coinage solely depicts the statue of Tyche,[89] with whom Trajan fostered his own personal and political rapport (discussed below).

Palm versus wheat attribute

Stansbury-O'Donnell recently has reviewed the evidence and modern scholarship of the Tyche of Antioch depicted holding, sometimes, a palm and, at other times, stalks of wheat.[90] The earliest depiction of the Hellenistic statue appears on the coinage of Tigranes I, who conquered and ruled Antioch from 83-69 BCE.[91] The obverse of his coinage shows the Tyche seated on the Orontes River, holding a palm in her right hand, a symbol of victory and fertility.[92] Stansbury-O'Donnell suggests that the palm, which symbolized Tigranes' victory over the Seleucids, was the original attribute of the Tyche of Antioch, to recall Seleucus' earlier victory at Ipsus (before he founded Antioch).[93]

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[89] Tetradrachm of Antioch: 103-109 and 109-115 CE. *ANS MN* 10 (1962) 46-47, no. 55-56, 66-68, 77-78; Balty (1981) 845.42 with bibliography.
[90] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 57-59.
[91] *BMC* Seleucid Kings Syria 103 no. 2, pl. 27.6; Dohrn (1960) 1.26, pl. 30.1; Balty (1981) 845.33 with bibliography.
[92] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 57-59, Mussche (1955) 435 note the use of the palm in Greek culture. For the use of the palm in Roman art, see, e.g., Kuttner (1995a) 15, 187-188, 214 fn. 6, 252 fn. 79, 258 fn. 117, 281 fn. 65, 286 fn. 26, 289 fn. 63.
[93] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 57-59.

Most scholars, instead, identify the generally common attribute of sheaves of grain as the original attribute of the Tyche of Antioch statue.[94] Coinage prior to the Trajanic intervention sometimes depicts the statue holding sheaves of wheat, but all coinage of Antioch after the Trajanic period depicts Tyche with the wheat attribute, when Trajan apparently had the original statue reconstructed, faithfully, as discussed above, in a new Roman setting in the theater.[95]

Grain was an important feature of Tyche for the conceptualization of the city. During the foundation of Antioch the perimeter of the city was traced with flour or wheat.[96] Furthermore, Simon has argued that the wheat attribute was, indeed, Tyche's original attribute in Antioch, symbolically linking her with the goddess Demeter.[97] To this effect, Strabo (16.750) noted that Triptolemus' son, Gordys, had descendants that lived at the future site of Antioch. Triptolemus, as I will further discuss in Chapter 3, was a disciple of Demeter and inducted into the Eleusinian Mysteries; he also had close ties with Tyche and Fortuna. The wheat attribute, a symbol of abundance, was also consistent with Tyche's oldest implement, the cornucopia, which, with the city's role as a port, added to Tyche's prominent role in commerce and trade.

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[94] Dohrn (1960), Simon (1977) 351-355, Balty (1981) 850-851, Ridgway (1989) 270, (1990) 235.
[95] Balty (1981) 848.103, Stansbury-O'Donnell 63 fn. 31 with bibliography.
[96] Liban. *Orat*. 11 (Antioch) 90.
[97] Simon (1977) 353.

The statue during the late Republican and imperial periods

The Tyche of Antioch is one of the most famous statues in the Graeco-Roman world. Close inspection of the evidence during the last century BCE and first and second century CE, however, suggests that the statue's fame was gradual, rather than immediate. Indeed, contrary to the fame that has been attributed to the statue through modern scholarship, the Tyche of Antioch image did not become a popular image (i.e., frequently reproduced in art) in the Graeco-Roman world until its reduplication or recreation by Trajan and prominence in imperial Greek coinage in the second century CE.

Modern scholarship often notes the impressive gap in time between the creation of the statue (ca. 300 BCE) and its first appearance, in 83–69 BCE, on the coinage of Tigranes I.[98] Equally noteworthy is the fact that Tigranes I was an Armenian, who briefly extended his kingdom to include Seleucid Syria. Prior to his portrayal of the Tyche on Tigranes' coinage, no Seleucid king had depicted the "famous" Tyche statue on his own coinage. According to the discussion above, Tigranes' insertion of the palm to the depiction of Tyche of Antioch on his coinage indicates his conquest of the city, as well as his control over the city's fate.

The Romans perpetuated this idea of the conquest of Antioch through the frequent depiction of the city's symbol, the Tyche of Antioch, on their own

coinage in the East. The city became the capital of the Roman province of Syria in 64 BCE, and Julius Caesar made it an autonomous city in 47 BCE. On the occasion of his own stay in the capital during the civil wars in the East, he dedicated a statue of Tyche in the Temple of Ares (Malalas 9.216). There is no record of the depiction of this Tyche statue, but, contemporaneously, Fortuna and Mars were two gods with whom Julius Caesar already fostered close ties in Rome, as I will examine in Chapters 3 and 4. Caesar's dedication also follows a tradition apparently initiated by Seleucus, who had dedicated the statue of the Tyche in Antioch, juxtaposing it with the statue of the Tyche of Antigoneia, the city of his conquered foe, Antigonus. Tigranes I responded to or manipulated the original Tyche statue with the addition of the palm. Seleucus and Tigranes personalized the Tyche of Antioch through new iconographical features, and Julius Caesar fostered his own personal relationship with Fortuna in Rome. Therefore, Caesar's dedication of a statue of Tyche in Antioch may have recalled his own close rapport with Fortuna in Rome.

In the imperial period, Strabo (16.2.5) mentions that Antioch became one of the three great cities of East, with Alexandria and Seleucia on the Tigris (founded in 312, as the capital of Seleucid empire, replaced by Antioch as the capital). The Tyche of Antioch begins appearing consistently on coinage only

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[98] E.g., Ridgway (1990) 234, Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 55.

under the reign of Augustus.[99] In his construction of the theater in the city, Tiberius also may have dedicated a statue to Tyche (10.235).

The devastating earthquake of 115 CE (Dio 68.24-25) may have led to the Trajanic reconstruction or restoration of the Hellenistic statue (for example, gilded bronze, versus Seleucus' bronze statue, according to Malalas), as suggested by Ridgway.[100] It may also have depended on Trajan's personal presence in the Antioch, just as the Tyche Sparta head may have depended on Hadrian's visit. Trajan was in Antioch on his way to Parthia in 113 CE,[101] to wage war and, eventually, extend the Eastern borders of the Roman empire to its greatest extent. As I will examine in Chapter 5, the relationship between Parthia and Fortuna was established in the Augustan period through the construction of the Altar of Fortuna Redux. The restitution (or addition) of the statues of Seleucus and Antiochus, father and son, to the Tyche of Antioch statue would have held great resonance with Trajan, who left his heir, Hadrian, as governor of Antioch, when he continued heading east to Mesopotamia, to fight the Parthians.

The next Roman activity surrounding the statue took place during the Severan period (the earliest under Elagabalus, 218-222 CE), when the Tyche of Antioch appeared on coinage most frequently.[102] Also in this period, Alexander Severus' coinage and several contemporary cameos reproduce a new figural

[99] Horn and Franke (1963) 406, Balty (1981) 845.37-40.
[100] Ridgway (1990) 234.

triad.[103] The Tyche of Antioch seated over the Orontes River is located in the center. On the left is the most common image of Fortuna during the imperial period (to be analyzed in Chapter 2), holding a rudder and cornucopia. To the right stands a male figure wearing a cuirass, identified as Mars, Seleucus, Antiochus I, and a Roman emperor.[104] The figure is probably the emperor, who was constantly depicted rescuing, protecting, or favoring a province or city.[105] He extends a laurel wreath over the head of the Tyche of Antioch. Although Ridgway has cited the presence of Fortuna as part of the original dedication of the Tyche statue,[106] in view of the developments of Fortuna iconography to be discussed in Chapter 2, it is more probable that the image is based on a novel imperial configuration. The group could have been symbolic of the Fortuna of the Romans and Tyche of the Greeks during the Roman empire, displayed together in peaceful coexistence (i.e., Greek dependence on the Roman emperor) and bitter enmity (i.e., the fate that Tyche and Fortuna dealt to the Greeks: Roman dominance). It also could have depicted Tyche (or Fortuna), in the collective (or universalized) sense, next to the Tyche of Antioch.

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[101] Malalas 2.273-275. Trajan constructed an aqueduct, discussed in Malalas 2.276, Downey (1961) 212 with archaeological and literary evidence, Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 58.
[102] Balty (1981) 846.54-62.
[103] Dohrn (1960) 29, tab. 33.4, Balty (1981) 848.105, 106, 110, 117, 120, 122, 851.
[104] Synopsis of the various interpretations in Stansbury-O'Donnell (1994) 57 fn. 30.
[105] E.g., Smith (1987) 88-138 Aphrodisias Sebasteion reliefs, Kuttner (1995a) Chapter 3 passim, emperor and personification groups, McCormack (1981) on third century coins with emperors and cities.
[106] Balty (1981) 841-842, 851, Ridgway (1990) 235-236.

The rise in the popularity of the Tyche of Antioch during the imperial period is paralleled by other Greek cities' usage of the image for their own coinage, with numerous variations during the imperial period.[107] Although the representation of city Tychai groups first occurred in the Greek Hellenistic period,[108] it, too, is, for the most part, an imperial Roman phenomenon.[109] When the political situation of the Eastern Greek cities became overshadowed by Rome and the emperor, a strong civic identity, often represented by the figure of the city's Tyche, was a way of demonstrating relationships between Greek cities and the emperor, as well as dialogues and disputes between Greek cities.[110]

In conclusion, the examination of the sculptures of the Tyche of Sparta and Tyche of Antioch has demonstrated that they represent the continual evolution of the city Tyche during the imperial period, as a result of the new political scenario in the Greek East, dominated by the persona of the Roman

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[107] Up to fifty cities are based on the Tyche of Antioch statuary: Dohrn (1960) 52-57, Horn and Franke (1963) 406-408, Balty (1981) 845.37-41, Broucke 39-40. The majority of these city Tychai appear on imperial-period coinage, e.g., the Tyche of Tomis, at whose feet is a representation of the Pontic Sea, wearing a mural crown: Canarache et al (1963) 133-152, Bordenache (1964) 155-178.

[108] Single city Tychai were depicted on fourth-century coinage: Broucke (1994) 35-38. Early Greek city Tychai group: e.g., Plu., *Sull*. 6, Kuttner (1995a) 74ff.

[109] E.g., the Puteoli base, which depicts the group of city personifications (possibly city Tychai) thanking the emperor Tiberius (whose statue was on top) for his assistance after the earthquake in Asia Minor in 17 BCE. This base was erected in Puteoli in 30 CE, in imitation of the larger dedication erected in the Forum Iulium: Vermeule (1981) 85-101, Kuttner (1995a) 40-41 74ff. The city Tychai on the Trajanic Arch of Beneventum: Torelli (1997), Simon (1979/1980), Kuttner (1995a) 49, 76, 132, 135, 156-162. The city Tychai of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch are depicted in silver statuettes (used as chair ornaments), in the Esquiline Treasure: Toynbee (1947) 135-144, Shelton (1985) 147-155. See, too, Liverani (1995) 219-249.

[110] The so-called imperial Homonoia coinage: Kampmann (1996), (1998) 373-393. Also, see Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner (1964), Price and Trell (1977), Harl (1987).

emperor. The first Tyche statue contains the image, par excellence, of pietas:[111] Aeneas escaping from the destruction of Troy. The commissioner of the statue certainly expressed loyalty to Rome and the emperor through this venerable image and presented the viewer with an opportunity to meditate upon the interrelated roles of Tyche and the emperor regarding the city's well-being. In Antioch, several prominent Romans, from Julius Caesar to Trajan, venerated the famous statue of Tyche in an attempt to attain both the prosperity that the statue represented and the legendary fame and luck of Alexander and Seleucus. It is probable that both the Tyche from Sparta and the imperial version of the Tyche of Antioch statue were part of multiple statuary groups, including a representation of the emperor. The same phenomenon, i.e., the close affiliation between the goddess of Chance and the Roman emperor, will appear in the relationship between the cult of imperial Fortuna and the emperor in the West.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF TYCHE AND FORTUNA

Before attempting to explore Fortuna's range of meaning in the imperial period, a concise overview of the origins and evolution of the cults of Tyche and Fortuna is necessary. The development of the goddesses' iconography and traits

[111] Galinsky (1996) 86-88.

will be the focus of a more in-depth study within the review of scholarship on Tyche and Fortuna in Chapter 2.

Tyche in the Greek world

Several studies have amply demonstrated that Tyche was the fickle Greek goddess of Chance and Fate who became popular throughout the Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and imperial Roman periods.[112] The word Tyche originated from the verb τυγχάνειν"to happen."[113] Unknown in Homer, the goddess first appeared in Hesiod as a benevolent sea-nymph with little mythical background and an inconsequential role.[114] In the fifth and early fourth centuries BCE, she developed, first into a force discussed by tragedians, historians, poets, and philosophers and then a goddess.[115] By the mid-fourth century and Hellenistic periods she had acquired a wide range of definitions associated with the Greek verb: good and bad luck, success, and chance that happen regardless of one's merit. She became an omnipotent deity, representing the fortune of all, the

[112] Gardner (1888), Allègre (1889), Déonna (1940), 127-185, Herzog-Hauser, *RE* 7A 2(1943), 1643-1689, Nilsson, *GGR* (1950), 2, 196, 200-210, Walbank (1957) 16-26, Herter (1963), Dohrn (1960), Hamdorf (1964) 37-39, Ferguson (1970), 77-87, Palagia (1982), 99-113, Pollitt (1986), 1-4, Champeaux (1987), Nippe (1989), Edwards (1990), Green (1993), 396-407, 586-601, Shapiro (1993), Bemmann (1994), Matheson (1994a), (1994b), Villard (1997), 8.1, 115-124.
[113] Herzog-Hauser (1948) 1643-1646. Liddell and Scott entry as discussed in Kajanto (1981) 525. Pollitt (1986) 1-4.
[114] Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 360; Pausanias 4.30.4. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (420).

fortune of a city, and the fortune of an individual [replacing the older Greek view of *Moira* (fate) as the principal way of conceiving personal destiny].[116] As Tyche acquired meaning over time, the development of her iconography also took place gradually, rather than in a single moment (to be examined in Chapter 2). Indeed, as I have shown in the study of the two imperial Tyche statues, Tyche continued to acquire meaning and new iconography in the imperial period, as well.[117]

Tyche stood apart from the traditional gods of the polis and came to be venerated as an omnipresent (i.e., "universal" or pantheistic), and cosmological[118] deity. In the fourth century BCE, the sculptor Praxiteles made a statue of Agathe Tyche (i.e., Good Fortune) in Athens (Aelian *Var. Hist*. 9.39, Pliny *N.H*. 36.23). The Athenians erected a statue to Agathe Tyche in the agora as well (discussed above). In the Hellenistic period, Tyche became a popular divinity, representing the well-being of the city. The most famous examples include cults and statuary dedicated to the goddess, respectively, in Alexandria (Tychaion, see Chapter 3), and Antioch (Tyche of Antioch, discussed above). The city Tyche of Syracuse received the most prominent temple devoted to the goddess in the Greek world;

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[115] E.g., Aeschylus (*Agam*. 664), Sophocles (*OT* 80), Euripides, who mentions Tyche regularly (*Cycl*. 606-607). See Kajanto (1981) 525-526. For Thucydides (1.140.1), see Erkell (1952) 134-136. Plato (*Leg*. 4.709a-b).

[116] Pollitt (1986), 1-4. For a discussion of Moira and Fate in the Greek world, see B.C. Dietrich (1967) *Death, Fate, and the Gods*.

[117] Aside from some Classical and late Classical sources (e.g., rudder: Aeschylus, *Ag*. 663-664; *EpGr* 491,5, Pind. *frg*. 40 Maehler), most literary sources describing the attributes of Tyche and explaining their significance date to the imperial period: Dio Chrys. 63.7, *Tabula of Cebes* 7, *Plut. De fort. Rom*. 4, 317f- 318a. For a synopsis of Tyche's iconography, see Villard (1997) 115-117, Matheson (1994b), Dohrn (1960). See Chapter 2 for a more in-depth analysis.

[118] For Tyche's role in cosmology, Ferguson (1970), Matheson (1994b) 28-30.

its cult statue was important, iconographically, as well (examined in Chapters 2 and 3). Because there was so much focus on and fear of her power, people appeased Tyche as a good deity (Agathe Tyche) in many social and religious situations.[119]

Tyche remained a fickle deity, notorious for abandoning cities and individuals to utter ruin (noted in Demetrius of Phaleron's treatise *Tyche*, examined in Chapter 3). At the same time, the Tyche of the individual developed with the rise of the charismatic leader, e.g., Alexander, and Hellenistic monarchs, e.g., Seleucus Nikator (discussed above) and Ptolemy I Soter (Chapter 3), subsequently followed by the similar placation of Fortuna by the late Republican dynasts (Chapter 3).

Fortuna in Italy

The studies of Fortuna are numerous and exhaustive, concentrating on the many origins of the goddess.[120] The etymology of the word Fortuna also suggests many different meanings, which also complicates the interpretation of Fortuna's

[119] See Matheson (1994b) 19 for a similar view.

[120] For general bibliography see Roscher *ML* I 2 (1886-90), Carter (1900), *RE* VII 1 (1910) 12, Patch (1922), Robinson (1946), *EAA* III (1960), Wissowa (1912) 256-268, 726ff, Latte (1960), 176ff, 238ff, 322, Weinstock (1971), *Kleine Pauly* II (1975) 597ff, Kajanto (1981b), Champeaux (1982), (1987), Grottanelli (1987), Riemann (1987), (1988), Coarelli (1988) 205-244, Nippe (1989), Simon (1990) 59-71, Strazzulla (1993), Traversari (1993), various articles on the Fortuna cults in *LTUR* I (1993), 267-287 (discussed in Chapters 3-5), Coarelli (1994), Matheson (1994a), *Le Fortune* (1996), Coralini (1996), Rausa (1997), Lichocka (1997), Graf (1998) 596-602.

beginnings. *Ferre*, "to bring," and *fors*, "chance," both of which may have come to mean luck, especially good luck, are considered the roots of the word "fortuna."[121] It is uncertain whether or not the attributes of fertility and agriculture,[122] some of Fortuna's earliest characteristics, and luck were contemporaneous but distinct developments in the earliest stages of Fortuna cult. The idea of chance appears in the cults of Fors Fortuna in Rome, and the oracles of Fortuna in Praeneste and Antium.[123] Simon also has insightfully examined the early Fortuna cults in Rome that portray Fortuna as a goddess of transportation, derived from the verb "ferre": the cult of Fortuna in the "area sacra" of S. Omobono and Fors Fortuna.[124] In addition, Palmer has elucidated Fortuna's early role in commerce in the Forum Boarium.[125]

The origins of Fortuna, the Italic goddess of Fortune and Chance, appear to be multi-ethnic, like so much else in Roman religion.[126] The main cults of Fortuna in Italy are located in Rome, Praeneste, and Antium (Chapters 2-5). By

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[121] Kajanto (1981). Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, Heidelberg 1965, S. 534, sv. Fors. Champeaux (1982) 423-426 with extensive bibliography 484; Simon (1990) 59-71.

[122] E.g., *CIL* I 60; XIV 2863. Champeaux (1982) 84-140 examines the fertility associations of Fortuna cult in the archaic period through her role as a mother goddess and her relationship with women and childbearing. See also Wissowa (1912) 256ff. For a contrary opinion, see Kajanto (1981) 503-507.

[123] E.g., Champeaux (1982).

[124] Simon (1990) 57-71.

[125] Palmer (1990) 242-244.

[126] Sabine: Champeaux (1982) 451, Kajanto (1981) 504. Etruscan (the goddess Nortia): Strazzulla (1993) with bibliography. Roman: Simon (1990) 59-71. The influence of the cult of Tyche on Fortuna: Champeaux (1982), (1987).

the second century BCE, Fortuna, like Tyche, is multi-faceted, both a benevolent and uncertain deity.[127]

In Rome, Fortuna frequently conveyed multiple meanings in each unique cult setting.[128] For example, Fors Fortuna simultaneously was a cosmological, agrarian, and popular goddess, the patroness of the lower classes and slaves.[129] A typical trait of Roman religion is that cults constantly accrete new meanings according to the needs of various suppliant groups, in response to political, social, and cultural changes in Rome.[130]

In the last two centuries of the Republic, Fortuna, followed by Felicitas, received a series of new, politicized cults in Rome, leading to the personalization of both deities through the intervention of the late Republican dynasts (Chapter 3). Subsequently, the cult of Fortuna gained further prominence in the city, through the various projects of Julius Caesar and Augustus in the Campus Martius (Chapter 4), as well as the imperial cults of Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, through which Fortuna acted both as kingmaker and the insurer of dynastic succession (Chapter 5).

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[127] Recent summaries in Rausa (1997), Graf (1998) 596-602, Chapter 2.
[128] E.g., Champeaux (1982), (1987) passim.
[129] Ovid, *Fasti* 6.781-784. Champeaux (1982) 199-248. Inscriptions dedicated to Fors Fortuna are collected in Bömer (1981) 141-153.
[130] Beard, North, Price (1998) vol I, esp. 61-98, Galinsky (1996) 433.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Recent studies of Roman society have continued to break down the stereotype that had portrayed the cultural development of the Romans as a slavish and simplistic acceptance of Greek culture.[131] In the Republican period (509-31 BCE), Romans defined the religious, social, and political characteristics of their national identity through the absorption of Greek practices and the retention of their own honored traditions (*mos maiorum*). In fact, throughout the Republican and the imperial periods, Romans deliberately adapted and responded to Greek models in religion, art, and literature to assert their leading role in the Mediterranean world.[132] As I have suggested in the two examples of Tyche statuary in the Greek East, the influence of the Roman emperor was a very tangible factor in the cult of Tyche, part of the complex dialogue between East and West during the imperial period.[133]

Recognition of the Romans' creative integration of Greek traditions as well as preservation of their own cultural heritage provides the framework for understanding the development of the cult of Fortuna during the imperial period

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[131] For Republican culture, including art, religion, literature, and philosophy, see Gruen (1987), (1992), Beard, North, Price (1998).

[132] On religion, see Liebeschuetz (1979) and Beard, North, Price (1998). On the Roman adoption and modification of Greek statuary types, see Ridgway (1984). For a thorough synopsis of middle and late Republican artistic culture in Rome, see La Rocca (1990) and Gruen (1992). For insights into the transition from Republic to rule under the Roman emperor and the interaction between Greek and Roman cultures during the Augustan age, see Kuttner (1995a) passim, Galinsky (1996) chapters 4 and 7 and extensive bibliography.

[133] Fn. 39.

since the deity often was associated with her Greek counterpart, Tyche. The three most comprehensive studies of Fortuna thus far, by Lauria, Champeaux, and Simon, have examined the Italic features of the Roman deity in depth from the sixth to the first centuries BCE and her interactions with Tyche during the Hellenistic period, through archaeological, literary, and epigraphic studies.[134] In addition, several iconographical studies[135] on the goddess, demonstrated that, like many Roman gods, Fortuna was multivalent.[136]

I will argue that, although the cults of Fortuna usually were identified with a particular epithet (up to 90 have been identified),[137] Fortuna always maintained a comprehensive and all-encompassing personality. Examination of Fortuna in cultic, artistic, and literary scenarios will explain that, like Tyche, all of the distinctive, individual traits of the Roman goddess belonged to a collective (or universalized) identity that included both her benevolent *and* malevolent traits. Fortuna is difficult to interpret because she possesses so many different, conflicting characteristics simultaneously. Indeed, each dedicator, artist, and writer often singled out particular traits or qualities of the deity according to his/ her individual needs. The isolation of singular characteristics of Fortuna in a statue or *topos*, however, does not exclude the existence of her other personalities,

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[134] Lauria (1980); Champeaux (1982), (1987), Simon (1990).
[135] The principal studies include Kajanto (1981), Champeaux (1982), (1987), Strazzulla (1993), Nippe (1989), Rausa (1997), Lichocka (1997), Coralini (1996).
[136] For a discussion of the terms multivalency and polyvalency, see Galinsky (1992) and Castriota (1995).
[137] Carter (1900) 60-68, Kajanto (1981b) 509-517.

as many scholars often conclude.[138] Rather, it suggests that the dedicator, artist, or writer had selected one of Fortuna's many traits to highlight it over the others to express his/her opinion regarding different social issues.

Lauria, Champeaux, and Simon acknowledged a new development in the Fortuna cult during the first and second centuries CE, through the creation of the new entities Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta.[139] Indeed, studies of Fortuna, as well as general studies of the imperial cult, have long noted the importance of the construction of the Altar of Fortuna Redux upon the return of Augustus to Rome on October 12, 19 BCE (*RG* 11).[140]

Therefore, I aim to present a new study of the goddess Fortuna in Rome and the development of her new cults under the emperors, preceded by the immediate Late Republican background. An examination of this period reveals the continual evolution of the goddess and her cult in Rome from the late first century BCE to the second century CE. Consideration of the cult of Fortuna in this time frame will lead to new insights on the complexity of the persona of Fortuna in the religio-political circumstances of imperial Roman culture.

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[138] E.g., Kajanto (1981) passim.

[139] E.g., Lauria *HSCP*, 85, (1981) 306, wrote, "I have chosen not to treat the complex and extensive material regarding Fortuna Redux. With its associated cult of Fortuna Augusta, Fortuna Redux marks a new stage in the concept of Fortuna and as such warrants a separate study of its own." Coralini (1996), who examines the iconography of "Tyche-Fortuna" in Northern Italy during the Roman period, correctly noted that there has been no attempt to synthesize the vast material on Fortuna during the Roman period in order to explain developments in Fortuna's iconography and cult at that time. See fn. 141.

[140] E.g., Kajanto (1981) 517-518, Fears (1981c) 885, Fishwick (1987) 41, Galinsky (1996) 299.

This study is not limited to a catalogue of iconography or a chronological survey of the material evidence.[141] Instead, I will examine specific examples of Fortuna in religion, art, and literature to convey different perspectives of the deity, in particular, her social, religious, and political roles in the syncretistic Graeco-Roman society of the imperial period, when Fortuna acquired new prominence, both publicly and privately. During this examination I will consider the religious, visual, and literary personas of the deity. These are the three constant, inseparable components of Fortuna during the Roman principate.

The study will progress as follows:

Chapter Two

In order to elucidate the ongoing process of change, integration, and mutual influence of Fortuna and Tyche during the first and second centuries CE, this chapter presents a critical review of the scholarship on Fortuna in representative religious, artistic, and textual examples of Fortuna's traits and iconographical features and their relationship to those of Tyche. The use of the modern term "Tyche-Fortuna," however, to describe Fortuna with the

[141] E.g., Lichocka (1997), who wrote extensively about the iconography and typologies of Fortuna's images, primarily on coins and in statuary (many previously unpublished), in the Roman

characteristics of Tyche has obscured, and simplified, the nuanced meanings that the Roman goddess had in Rome. Eliminating this category from the discussion of Fortuna will reveal the more complex personality of the goddess, whose many attributes were highlighted according to different, individual circumstances.

In three sections, I address the various aspects of Fortuna. The first section, devoted to Fortuna in religious contexts, examines the concept of Fortuna as a single, universalized goddess venerated in several Italian cities. The study considers both the Italic and Greek traits of Fortuna, identifying the goddess as simultaneously beneficent and capricious. The second section outlines, in detail, the development of the iconography of Fortuna: cornucopia, rudder, globe, wheel, and other, minor attributes. The third section entails a discussion of Fortuna in literature, focusing on the Pliny's famous passage about Fortuna (*N.H.* 2.22) and Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans.* The latter is the quintessential essay on Fortuna in the imperial period because Plutarch reflects the common view of the first century CE Mediterranean world that had melded together the histories and traits of Tyche and Fortuna. Throughout the treatise, Plutarch utilizes artistic representations of the goddess to describe her. Plutarch's lack of distinction between the two goddesses mirrors the prevalent understanding of Fortuna and Tyche in the first century CE, i.e., a single, unpredictable deity who had become the constant overseer of the Romans and the Roman emperors.

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empire (from the first century BCE to fourth century CE), devoted little space to interpret the

Chapter Three

In the Greek East and West, the cult of Tyche, in the form of a temple dedicated to Tyche, a Tychaion, developed in city centers, such as Alexandria and Syracuse, closely associated with the city's respective ruler.

Roman generals were well aware of the Greek monarchs' appeal to Tyche and began to promote their own special bonds with Fortuna. Furthermore, in Rome itself, the venerable tradition that credited Servius Tullius with the foundation of several shrines and temples to Fortuna induced many prominent Romans of the Republic to continue the foundation of new cults to Fortuna. By the second century BCE in Rome, Fortuna became the frequent recipient of manubial temples, the most noteworthy of which includes the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens. The slightly later cult of Felicitas, directly related to the Fortuna cult in Rome, developed by the mid-second century BCE. Powerful generals, such as Aemilius Paullus and Gaius Marius become associated with Fortuna's positive and negative personalities.

The first century BCE marks a further development in Fortuna's role in Late Republican politics: her "personalization," when Fortuna favored one general over another as they competed for supremacy in Rome. At this time, the

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significance of the many images of Fortuna.

goddess was a central feature in the religious and domestic architecture of the Late Republican dynasts, Catulus, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Octavian.

Chapter Four

As Augustus developed his political and religious "ideology,"[142] Fortuna became subsumed within it, as one of the many guarantors of the Augustan victory. Indeed, in one of his earliest victory monuments after the battle of Actium, Octavian dedicated a statue group to Nikon and Eutychus, representing the importance of Victoria and Fortuna as cornerstones of his monarchy, in imitation of Greek and Late Republican models.

In Rome, Augustus honored Fortuna through the construction of several, related monuments, again following Hellenistic models, in particular, those in Alexandria. The centerpiece of this building activity was the Pantheon, whose purpose has remained enigmatic. I will argue that, in light of recent evidence, the Pantheon was related to the Hellenistic construction of the Tychaion in Alexandria (discussed in Chapter 3).

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[142] The word *ideology* will remain in quotations throughout the text to emphasize the complexity with which Republican and imperial leaders promoted their own private agendas in terms greatly differing from those in the modern era. For a recent analysis of Augustan "ideology" see Galinsky (1996) 3-4, 80. For an opposite approach, i.e., acceptance of the term ideology in the modern sense, see Evans (1992), Fears (1981a), (1981b), (1981c).

To demonstrate the close relationship between the Pantheon and the Tychaion, a brief review of the Caesarian and Augustan-age building activities will underline the importance of Alexandria and its architecture in Rome and the close rapport between Fortuna and Tyche in various, indirect and direct ways, in Rome.

Finally, I will discuss a small nymphaeum by the Theater of Marcellus, which I suggest was decorated with a statue of Fortuna. Its architecture features and surrounding buildings indicate that it echoed the original setting of the statue of Tyche in Antioch. All of these Roman structures in the Campus Martius expressed Augustus' supremacy in the city through the assistance of Fortuna.

Chapter Five

This chapter continues the study of the relationship that developed between the first emperor Augustus, his successors, and the cult of Fortuna. The new cults of Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta define her prominent role in imperial Rome and beyond.[143]

[143] See Kajanto (1986), 25-73, who accurately asserts, "Fortuna is one of the most enduring and influential legacies of antiquity." In contrast to all the other gods of Greek and Roman religion, Fortuna occupied a prominent role throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods in Italy. Understanding the extent of Fortuna's role in imperial Roman society will help explain her longevity in the ensuing centuries in literature and art. For an examination of Fortuna after the Roman period: Cioffari (1935), Kajanto (1988b), Frakes (1988).

Initial inquiries into the relationship that existed between these two new cults and the emperor include the examination of the concept of Fortuna as a "blessing," which developed into Fortuna Redux's and Fortuna Augusta's role as *comes* (companion) of the emperor. Horace's *Ode* I.35 and Fortuna's close relationships with genius, the Lares, and tutela characterize the goddess before the official creation of the cult of Fortuna Redux in Rome. An examination of the sculpture on the pediment from the Mars Ultor Temple in the Forum Augustum reveals the complex interrelationships between Fortuna and other Augustan gods and the goddess' role in the city's founding, history, and success.

The Altar of Fortuna Redux celebrated Augustus' return to Rome and his diplomatic defeat of the Parthians, which ushered in a period of peace, simultaneously consolidating Augustus' own role as the guarantor of Rome. The Temple of Fortuna Redux was later constructed, a monument glorifying the Roman triumph and emperor. An examination of the pedimental decoration of the temple further underlines the cult's role and prominence in the imperial city.

With the inception of Fortuna Augusta and Fortuna Redux, the goddess assumed the role of kingmaker and guarantor of imperial dynasties. Examples of the new cults are examined in Rome, Pompeii, and Africa. In addition, empresses, followed by non-elites, represented themselves as Fortuna in their public and private appeal to her. Furthermore, as new imperial dynasties formed

or failed, or emperors considered their heirs, Fortuna enjoyed particular prominence, regardless of the outcome.

Throughout the imperial period, Fortuna reflects and is dependent upon her own origins and inherent characteristics and attributes, as well as those of Tyche; she remains both a benevolent and uncertain, unpredictable deity. At the same time, Fortuna, in the form of Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, exhibits new qualities, focused on the Roman emperor and Rome itself, symptomatic of the continual evolution of Roman religion in the first and second centuries CE.

Chapter 2: The interrelationship between the cult, imagery, and textual accounts of Fortuna: why the category "Tyche-Fortuna" fails

STUDIES OF FORTUNA: CULT, ART, TEXT

In the past twenty years, substantial studies have been conducted about Fortuna in religious settings, art, and literature, contributing to the understanding of the persona of Fortuna,[144] though usually within the confines of these three academic subdivisions. This chapter examines the relationship between the concepts of Tyche and Fortuna in each of these three categories (because this is how the scholarship has divided) in order to explore the full range of meaning that Fortuna conveyed according to various circumstances and to provide some perspective on the larger pattern that Fortuna left during the late Republic and early imperial period.

Simultaneously, I will address the modern creation and use of "Tyche-Fortuna" in these studies. I will argue that the term "Tyche-Fortuna" has obscured the many meanings that the Roman goddess conveyed in terms of religious, social, political, and intellectual life in late Republican and Augustan

Rome. Eliminating this category from the discussion of Fortuna will reveal the more complex personality of the goddess, including her (generally ignored) fickle side, in Rome, thereby permitting a more accurate view of Fortuna's role in the imperial "ideology" examined in Chapters 4-5.

TERMINOLOGY: "TYCHE-FORTUNA"

The modern term "Tyche-Fortuna"[145] designates the goddess Fortuna after her persona and cult have been affected by the introduction of the cult of Tyche to Italy.[146] Therefore, "Tyche-Fortuna," a Hellenized Fortuna, is distinct from Fortuna and her "Italic" origins, most amply recorded in the archaeological record in the Fortuna cults of Praeneste, Antium and Rome.[147] However, "Tyche-

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[144] Chapter 1, 39ff., esp. fn. 120.

[145] In her discussion of Fortuna in cult, Champeaux (1987) uses the term "Fortuna-Tyche" to indicate that the goddess Fortuna in the second and first centuries BCE is more Fortuna than Tyche (although Fortuna retains some attributes of Tyche). Coralini (1996) 227-228 analyzes the formulation of Fortuna in art, utilizing "Tyche-Fortuna" to define Fortuna in the imperial period, distinct from the "pre-Hellenized, Italic (Etruscan-Latin) Fortuna." Kajanto (1981) states that "Tyche-Fortuna" is a valid term in Latin literature studies because the goddess Fortuna is more Tyche than Fortuna and does not reflect accurately the goddess Fortuna in cult. I will not distinguish between the two terms "Fortuna-Tyche" and "Tyche-Fortuna." Instead, I will use the term "Tyche-Fortuna" throughout my study.

[146] Just how early the Hellenization of Fortuna took place is discussed in Champeaux (1982) 455-459 who cites evidence from as early as the mid-sixth century BCE. For a more cautious interpretation of the material evidence: Fears (1981c) 848, Kajanto (1981) 503-509.

[147] Praeneste: The upper complex was freed from a layer of medieval structures constructed on top of it during allied bombing in 1944. Although the most thorough archaeological study of the upper sanctuary, conducted by Fasolo and Gullini (1953) dated the architectural features to the mid-second century BCE, the epigraphic study of the dedicatory building inscriptions by Degrassi (1969-1970) revealed that Praenestans built and paid for the upper sanctuary between 120-110 BCE. This is now the standard, accepted date for the upper sanctuary, e.g., Champeaux (1982) 11ff., Coarelli (1987) 61ff, Meyboom (1995) 10-12, fn. 26-34. The date of the lower sanctuary is

Fortuna" does not necessarily describe the goddess Fortuna in cult settings, but rather generic qualities of Tyche, such as standardized iconographic features or her role in literary *topoi*, which the Italians adopted and applied to Fortuna.

As I will argue in the following three sections, the use of the term has many shortcomings. Indeed, the Romans themselves never used the term. Instead, I will argue, Fortuna, like most Roman deities, was multivalent and changed over time, portrayed with indigenous features and those of Tyche, depending on the individual religious, artistic, and literary circumstances. Therefore, "Tyche-Fortuna," which is not even attested in literary or inscriptional evidence, deserves reconsideration.[148]

THE CULT OF FORTUNA

still under discussion, between the third quarter of the second century BCE [Lauter (1979)] and the Sullan period [Gullini, Fasolo (1953) 547ff., (1988) 81ff] , after the city became a Sullan colony in 82 BCE. For a review of the scholarship, see Meyboom (1995) 11-16, and a recent examination of the site: Coarelli (1993) 124-160. Antium: Lugli (1940), Brendel (1960), Champeaux (1982) 149-191, and recent survey of the city and its Roman remains in Brandizzi Vittucci (2000). Rome: e.g., the Fortuna sanctuary in the area sacra of Sant'Omobono: Champeaux (1982), Simon (1990) 57-71, Palmer (1990) 242-244, *LTUR* (1995), G. Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes," II.281-285.

[148] Like the term "Tyche-Fortuna," scholarship also regularly uses the term "Fortuna-Isis" to describe the syncretistic nature of statuettes of Fortuna with the added iconography of Isis. Whereas there is no inscriptional evidence for the term "Tyche-Fortuna," a handful of inscriptions records the term "Isityche." See Kajanto (1981) 520, Coarelli (1994) for a discussion of the inscriptions. However, no single inscription records a dedication to "Isis-Fortuna." See Chapter 4, 241ff.

Roman religion was one of constant change and evolution, according to many socio-political and cultural factors.[149] This richness of meaning not only signified that cults, festivals, and deities could and did acquire new significance according to cultural variation, but also that each could convey variety of meanings simultaneously. As noted in Chapter 1, the cult of Fors Fortuna is a typical example of the longevity of a Fortuna cult in Rome that was acquired further qualities according to new social and cultural exigencies.[150]

Fortuna cults were devoted to specific groups (e.g., slaves, *fabri*, *equites*), individuals, occasions (e.g., *huiusce diei*), and cities, characterized by a wide range of epithets; literary and inscriptional evidence record up to ninety (e.g., Fortuna *Crassiana*, Fortuna *Praetoria*).[151] Most dedications were made to Fortuna with a distinguishing epithet, whereas, in literature, Fortuna often was addressed without an epithet.[152] This is typical of Roman religious practice; Romans qualified any given cult with a specific epithet.[153]

In contrast, Tyche cults were addressed typically to Tyche and Agathe Tyche ("Good Fortune") and, less frequently, the Tyche of a particular city or individual (generally, the monarch of one's own city or a monarch who had

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[149] Liebeschuetz (1979) passim.
[150] Chapter 1, 39ff., Chapter 2, 54ff. Likewise, as M. Beard has demonstrated, the Parilia festival continued to accrue meaning over the course of several centuries in Rome: Beard et al. (1998) I.174-176.
[151] Carter (1900) 60-68, Kajanto (1981) 509-518.
[152] E.g., the two Fortunae of Antium are addressed in the singular as "Fortuna" in Horace, Ode I.35: Chapter 5, 272ff.
[153] E.g., Wissowa (1912) passim, Beard et al (1998) I. passim.

conquered one's own city).[154] This discrepancy, in the different use of epithets to define the cults of Fortuna and Tyche, has resulted in contrasting interpretations of the cults.

Previous modern accounts of Fortuna: localized, benevolent deity

Latte, Ferguson, and Kajanto have asserted that, because the Fortuna cults were frequently described by many, often obscure, epithets (e.g., *Viscata*, *Mala*), the Romans' concept of Fortuna was *localized*, or concentrated on small, often private, cults characterized by different traits distinguishable from every other Fortuna cult.[155] These scholars suggest that the Romans did not consider the goddess Fortuna a single deity since she was usually described by special interest groups or individuals for specific purposes (e.g., *Equestris*, *Crassiana*, *Tutela*).

In contrast, these scholars continue, because the Tyche cult dedications, usually addressing Tyche or Agathe Tyche, reflect an awareness of an all-powerful, pan-Hellenic deity throughout the Greek world, the Greeks acknowledged that Tyche was a collective, *universalized* entity.[156]

In her comprehensive account of Fortuna cults in Rome, from their primordial origins to the first century BCE, J. Champeaux suggests that the

[154] Hamdorf (1964) 37-39, 97-100.
[155] Plutarch, *Moralia* 218e, 322ff., Latte (1960) 175-, Ferguson (1970) 85-86, Kajanto (1981) 509-510, 530.

closest that Fortuna comes to being a universalized deity is "Fortuna-Tyche," the entity that resulted after two centuries of the Hellenization of the cult of Fortuna.[157] She defines Fortuna during this period as "Fortuna-Tyche" to distinguish her from her earlier identity during the archaic and early Republican periods. Ultimately, however, she does not use the term "Fortuna-Tyche" to define Fortuna with all of the characteristics of Tyche because she does not believe that the evidence indicates that the persona of fickle Fortuna was a common factor of Fortuna cult by the late Republic. Indeed, she identifies "Fortuna-Tyche" as Bona Fortuna, closely related to Agathe Tyche, especially through her relationship with Servius Tullius' Fortuna, Spes, and Felicitas (the subject of further analysis in the following chapters).[158]

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[156] E.g., Pollitt (1986) 1-4, Walbank (1957) 16-26 (1972) 58-65.

[157] Champeaux (1987) 131-303.

[158] Servius Tullius' Fortuna: Chapter 3, 154ff. Spes: Hamdorf (1994), Chapter 5, 307ff. Felicitas: Chapter 3, 162ff. Champeaux's two volumes include thorough individual studies of Fortuna cults, but her conclusions in volume two are too linear. She interprets the plethora of evidence related to Fortuna in an approximately sixty–year span (the end of the third century BCE to the middle of the second century BCE) as a "progression" of the Fortuna cult in Rome: Champeaux (1987) 37-86, 87-116, 170-213. Many different groups (including writers of comedy, tragedy, history, and dedicators of cults to Fortuna and Felicitas) comment on and interpret the role of Fortuna in Roman society in this brief period of time. Because this important moment of the Hellenization of the Fortuna cult in Rome does not span more than two generations, a linear development of Fortuna cult (advocated by Champeaux) is difficult to discern. It is more accurate to define the evidence as generalized vocalizations or limited glimpses of the new role that Tyche attributes (both positive and negative) play in the Fortuna cult in Rome, rather than a self-conscious "ideology." The variety of evidence from the second century BCE reveals the Romans' complex interpretation of Fortuna in terms of the meaning and attributes of the Greek goddess in a Roman context.

Fortuna: multivalent (beneficent *and* uncertain) and *universalized* goddess

The many epithets which describe the goddess Fortuna in no way detract from the single identity of the deity, but rather add to her importance for so many social groups in Roman society, identifying her as both a beneficent and capricious deity, a single, universalized entity in the Roman consciousness. However, little attention has been paid to the goddess Fortuna as a "single" entity with a personality of her own (distinct from Tyche), which the Romans defined through a variety of cults, with a wide range of epithets.[159]

Passerini's article represents an exception in the scholarship that fails to recognize Fortuna as a single, universalized deity, presenting the Romans' overall concept of the goddess.[160] He examined Sulla's and Pompey's Fortuna (via Plutarch, *Sulla* 35.3ff. and Cicero, *De imp. Gn. Pompei*, 16.47ff., respectively) to reveal that the goddess, with or without epithets, has a wide-range of meanings, positive and negative. Drawing on what he considers Etruscan (or Italic) roots for Fortuna as "fate," he interprets the Fortuna described in Plutarch's *Sulla* 35.3ff in her Italic quality as a "forza immanente."[161] In the same way, Passerini views Cicero's hesitant caution in praising the Fortuna of Pompey as symptomatic of his

[159] E.g. Kajanto (1981) 509-518 argues that the epithets associated with Fortuna suggest that Fortuna and Genius were virtually synonymous. He does not believe that the evidence supports the idea that Romans perceived all cults of Fortuna in a collective sense. Furthermore, he argues that the many manifestations of the cult and iconography of Tyche did not significantly affect the development of Fortuna cult in the Republican and imperial period.
[160] Passerini (1935) 90-97.
[161] Passerini (1935) 93. For an analysis of Sulla's Fortuna, see Chapter 3, 180ff.

awareness of the danger of hubris that can be punished by Fortuna. According to Passerini, by the late Republic, every social class regarded Fortuna in the same way: as a fickle deity.

The late Republican evidence that Passerini describes reflects a Hellenized Fortuna in Roman society, rather than "Italic" traits of Fortuna, according to Champeaux's broader study. However, at the same time, Champeaux ignores the sincerity of the uncertain character from the Fortuna cults identified by Passerini. As previously mentioned, she argues that, due to the novel formulation of Felicitas and the association of Spes with Fortuna, Romans emphasized only the benevolent side of the goddess.

However, Fortuna was already involved in the unknown, as an uncertain deity, through her oracle at Praeneste,[162] the cults of Fors Fortuna[163] and Fortuna Respiciens[164] in Rome, and Fortuna's inherent link in Rome with the Etruscan goddess of Fate, Nortia.[165]

Furthermore, according to F. Graf's recent survey of the Fortuna cults in Rome, the cults of Fortuna Bona and Mala (Aug., *civ*., 4.18), the altar of Fortuna Mala on the Esquiline (Cicero, *Nat. Deorum*, 3.63), and the cults of Fortuna Dubia (*CIL* VI 675), Fortuna Brevis (Plutarch, *mor*., 281a), Fortuna Stabilis (*CIL* III 5156a from Noricum), Fortuna Obsequens (Plautus, *Cas*., 716), Fortuna

[162] Fn. 147.
[163] Chapter 1, 39ff.
[164] Chapter 3, 159ff.

Respiciens (Cicero, *leg*., 2.28), and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei all include epithets that refer to the ambivalent nature of Roman goddess, which, in turn, often depend on the precedents set by the Greek Tyche cult.[166] Therefore, Fortuna, like Tyche, was a single goddess with both positive and negative characteristics, with the distinction that Roman worshippers more colorfully described Fortuna with a variety of epithets than Greeks described Tyche, according to a variety of social, political, and religious circumstances. Indeed, this is exactly why I will argue in Chapter 5 that in Ode I.35 Horace can coherently address Fortuna, characterized by an ambivalent nature and in the singular, in the collective sense, referring to the *dual* cult of Fortuna in Antium.

The cult statues of Fortuna: three exempla

In the second century CE, Fronto (p. 150.21 Van den Hout) wrote the following about Fortuna: *Dicendum est de Fortuna aliquid? Omnis ibi Fortunas Antiatis, Praenestinas, Respicientis, balnearum etiam Fortunas omnis cum pennis, cum roteis, cum gubernaculis reperias*… The wings, wheel, and rudder

[165] Nortia: Versnel (1970) 273ff., Champeaux (1982) 463-466, Pairault Massa (1992) 61ff., 163ff., Strazzulla (1993) passim.
[166] Graf (1997) 4.600.

that Fronto ascribes to the Fortuna cults of Antium, Praeneste, and Rome[167] are part of the standardized iconography of Fortuna, which developed in the imperial period (to be discussed in part II of this chapter). They contrast with the appearance of the cult statues, described below. For the ancient viewer, however, there was no discrepancy between Fronto's description of imperial-period images of Fortuna and the disparate iconography of the cult statues of the Republican period. Rather, all of these representations describe the single goddess, in different manifestations, before and after the iconography became standardized. Even when such standardization of the Fortuna imagery developed, these early cult statues continued to exist, as testaments of the antiquity of the cult of Fortuna.[168]

The dual cult of Fortuna at Antium is manifested in the marble sculptural group found in Praeneste and the coinage of Rustius dating to 19 BCE.[169] In both

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[167] Praeneste, Antium: fn. 147, Fortuna Respiciens: Chapter 3, 159ff. Fortuna's association with water, and baths, is a constant theme in her worship (as water is common to Tyche, e.g., Tyche of Antioch, as discussed in Chapter 1, 21ff.), explored in further detail in Chapter 4, 250ff**.** In Rome, the cult of Fortuna Virilis [(festival day: April 1, with Venus Verticordia (Degrassi 433-434)] was concerned with the purification (or concealment) of women's bodies of physical blemishes in bathing facilities (Ovid, *Fast*. 4.145-150), Platner and Ashby (1965) 219, 605, Champeaux (1982) 379-401, Coarelli (1988) 293-301, Richardson (1992) 158, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Virilis," II.280.

[168] For a similar assessment of the early cults of Fortuna in the context of imperial Rome, see the discussion of Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans* in part III.

[169] The images were described in Tacitus, *Ann*. 15.23: *Fortunarum effigies aureae*. Brendel (1960) 41-47, Champeaux (1982) 149-182, Simon (1990) 63-64, Agnoli (2000) 57-59 with bibliography. *BMCRR* 3 pl. 63 nos. 2-5*; BMCRE* 1 pl. 7 nos. 10-13. Aureus of Q. Rustius: Obverse: profiles of dual Fortunae, facing right. The first figure wears a helmet, holds a sword, and her right breast is exposed. The second figure is fully draped and wears a diadem (FORTUNAE ANTIAT.). Reverse: Altar of Fortuna Redux (FOR RE), discussed in Chapter 5, 307ff., altar with decorated molding and base, wavy lines to represent vegetal motif. Inscription within the altar: For(tuna) Re(dux). Inscription around: Caesari Augusto Ex SC. *BMC Emp*. I 1-

cases, the two Fortuna goddesses are depicted with Hellenistic Greek iconography: as an Amazon and matron. Brendel has dated the marble depiction of the two Fortunae on a ferculum as accurate representations of the cult statues in Antium, around 100 BCE.[170] The Greek Hellenistic iconography of the figures suggests that the cult was formulated as such only in the late second century BCE (after the introduction and acceptance of the Tyche cult to the cult of Fortuna throughout Italy), although it has been dated to the archaic period, given the dual aspect of the cult.[171]

Another key example of Greeks' equating Fortuna and Tyche is found in their reception of the cult statue of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste.[172] Livy (44, 45.8-9, 15) records that the Hellenistic monarch, Prusias of Bithynia, on an

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2, 2-4, tab. 1.2, Rausa (1997) 127, 13. See also the aureus of Q. Rustius, *BMC Emp*. I 1.1, tabl. 1.1. Obverse: two female heads, facing one another, the left wearing a helmet, the right wearing a diadem (FORTUNAE). Reverse: Victoria. Also, an aureus of Augustus (20/19), *RIC* I, 45, no. 53: obverse, Augustus, wearing fillet. Reverse: altar with the inscription: Fortun(ae) Redu(ci) Caesari Aug(usto) S.P.Q.R.

[170] Brendel (1960) 43.

[171] Brendel (1960) 41-47, Champeaux (1982) 149-182, Riemann (1987) 131-161.

[172] The name Fortuna Primigenia is reflected in the Greek cult, Tyche Protogenia, recorded in three late second century BCE inscriptions [one from Itanos (Crete), two from Delos]. However, the famous inscription of Orcevia, dating to the third century BCE (*CIL* I 60; XIV 2863), records a dedication to Fortuna Primocenia [Champeaux (1982) 25-26]. Champeaux (1982) 119-122 extends this relationship to an earlier reference to Persephone, who is known as Kore Protogonos, suggesting that this Greek cult was responsible for the formulation of Fortuna Primigenia in the archaic period. Kajanto (1981) 508 fn. 23 suggests that the Greek cult of Tyche Protogenia at Itanos, Crete was the impetus behind the formulation of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, down-dating the origins of the cult of Fortuna Primigenia to the second century BCE, but he does not take into account the Orcevia inscription. The presence of an archaic Great Mother goddess cult in Praeneste, the lack of archaic evidence that supports the existence of an early Fortuna Primigenia cult in Praeneste, and the late date of the Praenestine inscription suggest that the formulation of the cult as Fortuna Primigenia was not archaic, and possibly formulated in the fourth-third centuries BCE, during the "arrival" of Tyche to the Greek West. See Riemann (1987) 131-161.

official visit to Rome in 167 BCE, sacrificed to the Fortuna of Praeneste on the Capitolium in Rome, "pro victoria populi Romani."[173] Cicero (*De Div*. 2.87) notes that in 155 BCE the Greek philosopher of critical Skepticism, Carneades (214/3- 129/8 BCE),[174] paid a visit to the sanctuary, remarking, "nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam."[175]

Despite the attention that these two prominent Greek individuals paid to the Fortuna of the sanctuary, already famous before its final rebuilding towards the end of the second century BCE,[176] the cult statue was glaringly distinct from any Tyche cult statue in the Greek East and West, identified by a rudder and cornucopia by the second century BCE (see part II). Given their recognition of Fortuna, and equivalence with Tyche, however, implies that Greeks were not put off by the indigenous "Italic" traits of the statue.[177]

Cicero, (*De Div*. 2.85) describes the cult statue of the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste: *Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam appetens castissime colitur a matribus*. In a less frequently cited passage, Pliny (*N.H*. 33.61) describes the particular method of heavy gilding that

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[173] Champeaux (1982) 123-124.
[174] Long, Sedley (1987) chapters 68-70.
[175] "That he had never seen a luckier Fortuna than the Fortuna of Praeneste." Champeaux (1982) 9-11.
[176] Fn. 147 on the sanctuary.
[177] Although Simon astutely (1990) 63 calls attention to the striking contrast between the Praenestan statue and Tyche statuary, the participation of a Greek monarch and philosopher in the cult of Fortuna Primigenia suggests that the cult was readily acceptable to a Greek audience.

adorned the bronze[178] cult statue of Fortuna at Praeneste: *crassissimae ex iis Praenestinae vocantur, etiamnum retinente nomen Fortunae inaurato fidelissime ibi simulacro*. Taking each passage separately, Coarelli and Martin have argued that there were multiple cult statues of Fortuna, in what Coarelli defines as the "upper" and "lower" sanctuaries.[179] The "upper" sanctuary contained the seated Fortuna, located at the site of the pit into which a child was lowered (Cic. *De Div*. 2.85-86), found on the second terrace. An over life-sized classicizing marble female head was found in the pit; Coarelli and Martin identify it as the second century BCE remains of the seated Fortuna statue described by Cicero.[180] Coarelli and Martin locate the colossal black stone[181] statue of a goddess in the "lower" sanctuary.[182] They identify the statue as "Isis-Fortuna," possibly located within so-called Iseum building (identified by Coarelli),[183] attached to the basilica. The statue is commonly dated to the second century BCE.[184] Since, according to Pliny, the cult statue was gilded, Martin asserts that it was there was a third cult statue of Fortuna, a gilded bronze cult statue, in the tholos that

[178] That the cult statue described by Pliny was bronze can be surmised by the reference to the statue within the context of Book 33: Isager (1991) 64 ff., Book 34, on bronze statuary: 80ff.
[179] Coarelli (1993) 130-148, Martin (1987) 177-181.
[180] Coarelli (1993) 143-144, Martin (1987) 177-181, 234-233, Agnoli (2000) 78-80.
[181] Samples of the black stone, usually and incorrectly identified as bigio morato, have been taken recently by N. Agnoli and M. Bruno for isotopic analysis.
[182] Lauro (1978) 199-213, Coarelli (1993)135-136, Martin (1987) 181, Agnoli (2000) 78-80.
[183] Coarelli (1993) 135-136, Coarelli (1994) 119-129, Agnoli (2000) 27-28. Recently, Meyboom (1995) 12-16, 211 fn. 38, 355 fn. 51, through analysis of the Nile Mosaic, the architecture of the building, and the late arrival of Isis cult in Italy (in the form of large architectural structures and the imperial date of most of the dedications to Egyptian deities in Praeneste) argues that the "Iseum" is actually a public building. Champeaux (1996) 15-37 also has challenged the presence of a cult dedicated to "Isis-Fortuna" before the imperial period. See Chapter 4, 241ff.

architecturally crowned the sanctuary.[185] In light of the passages of Cicero and Pliny, however, the sole cult statue, which was gilded, must have been the same statue described by Cicero. Since the classicizing head identified by Coarelli and Martin as the statue of the breast-feeding Fortuna was not gilded and is marble rather than bronze, it is probable that the head does not, in fact, belong to the cult statue of Fortuna described in the literary sources.

Lauro has reconstructed the black-stone statue as "Isis-Fortuna" holding rudder and cornucopia.[186] Such a reconstruction is without foundation; the arms and implements are not extant.[187] Indeed, the white marble inserts for the exposed flesh parts has led Zevi to date the statue to the second century CE, as a Roman imperial phenomenon, beginning in the Antonine age.[188] In the most recent study of the statue, Agnoli has found new fragments of the statue in the "fish mosaic antrum," suggesting a new findsite for the statue, not in the "Iseum," as Coarelli and Martin proposed.[189] However, Agnoli's stylistic dating of the statue to the Rhodian school of the second century BCE remains in doubt due to recent dismantling of the Rhodian school.[190] Even though many developments take place in the sanctuary associating Tyche with Fortuna before the massive

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[184] Lauro (1978) 199-213, Agnoli (2000) 61-68
[185] Martin (1987) 181.
[186] Lauro (1978) 199-213, Agnoli (2000) 61-68.
[187] This has not stopped Nippe (1989) 58 fn. 417 from accepting Lauro's reconstruction to support her theory that the Fortuna Braccio Nuovo statue was formulated in the late Hellenistic period, rather than the imperial period.
[188] Zevi (1979) 20-21, Rausa (1997) 136 II. 10e. 179.
[189] Agnoli (2000) 61-68.

reconstruction of the entire site at the end of the second century BCE,[191] ample comparanda of the dark stone female statues and the late date of inscriptional evidence regarding Isis in Praeneste support an imperial date for the statue.[192]

The cult practice at the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia was more varied than that of Greeks' worship of Tyche but included many characteristics shared by Tyche. For example, the Praenestans first venerated Fortuna as a goddess of fertility and childbearing,[193] and then she also became popular with slaves, who hoped to have their fate changed by the goddess.[194] Such traits were not common to the cult of Tyche. However, many inscriptions found in Praeneste also denote her as the goddess of fortune and chance, a typical trait of Tyche.[195] In addition, the Praenestan sanctuary was built in its most elaborate state at the end of the second century BCE, with the money acquired from the Praenestans' commercial activities in the Greek East.[196] Water flowed freely throughout the sanctuary, as a source for worshippers' self-purification in the sanctuary, as well as a reflection of the goddess' role in maritime affairs (along with maritime-theme mosaics in

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[190] Pollitt (2000) 92-110.

[191] Three Thasian statues, tentatively dated to the third century BCE, were dedicated at the sanctuary, Ridgway (1990) 369-370, Agnoli (2000) 71-77. The Praenestans were wealthy traders in the early second century BCE: Coarelli (1994) 119-129.

[192] Meyboom (1995) 209 fn. 35, 36, Champeaux (1996) 15-37, Rausa (1997a) 44ff.

[193] Champeaux (1982) 3-148, esp. 24-54.

[194] Bömer (1981) 140-144 (includes imperial material).

[195] Kajanto (1981) 506 notes that although the sanctuary was supposedly originally dedicated to Fortuna as a fertility goddess (for which scholars frequently cite the *CIL* I 60, XIV 2863, Cic. *De div*. 2.85), by the Republican period there is no sign (according to the dedications, e.g. fn. 18 and *CIL* I 1446-1450) that the fertility aspect of Fortuna remained the single-most important attribute of the goddess.

[196] Fn. 147, Coarelli (1994).

the "lower" sanctuary, i.e., Nile and fish mosaics). The goddess' patronage over commercial affairs, especially shipping (i.e., Praeneste's ancient port was Antium) would have found common ground with the Tyche cult in the Greek East and West (e.g., the Tyche of Antioch, discussed in Chapter 1, and the Tychai of Alexandria and Syracuse, discussed in Chapter 3). Furthermore, like contemporary Republican Fortuna cults in Rome, Fortuna Primigenia also became celebrated after military victories.[197] Indeed, the universalized quality of Fortuna Primigenia,[198] the most famous sanctuary of Fortuna in the entire Italian peninsula, is evident since she became the frequent recipient of dedications from victorious Roman generals. During the late Republican period, they included Sulla, Lucullus, and Mark Antony, and during the imperial period, emperors from Augustus to Septimius Severus.[199]

In Rome, the descriptions of an archaic gilded wooden statue were variously interpreted in antiquity as an early depiction of Fortuna (Pliny, *N. H.* 8.197, Dio 58.7.2) or Servius Tullius (Dion. Hal. *Ant*. 4.40.7, repeated in Val.

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[197] See above for Prusias' dedication to Fortuna Primigenia. For further discussion of the construction of manubial Fortuna temples, see chapter 3.

[198] In comparison, Tyche, who never received a centralized cult, is considered a universalized deity because of the limited use of epithets used to describe her. Ridgway (1990) 370 describes the Fortuna Primigenia of Praeneste as, "approximately the Roman equivalent of the Greek Tyche, but a more *universal* divinity not connected with a specific city."

[199] *Contra* Cicero, De. Div. 87 (44 BCE), who states that the sanctuary had fallen into disuse. For the Sullan involvement in Praeneste, see Pliny *N.H*. 36.64.189 (*lithostroton*), Appian I.94, Plutarch, *Sulla* 32. For the Lucullan inscription, see Lauter (1979) 439ff., Meyboom (1995) 215 fn. 53. For the supposed Mark Antony dedication, see Hölscher (1988) 363 and Chapter 3, 210ff. For imperial inscriptions, see *CIL* XIV 2914 (Claudian), 2989 (Vespasianic), XIV 3003 (Hadrianic), XIV 2856 (Antonine), Suet., *Tiberius* 63.1, *Domitian*, 15.2**.** Champeaux (1982) 55-

Max. 1.8.11, Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.569-572, 579-580, 613-626), providing the single most important piece of evidence about the early Fortuna cult in Rome. The identity of the figure was concealed by the representation of a heavy cloth. Coarelli and Pairault Massa have suggested that the figure is the Etruscan Tanaquil, a form of *Moira*, Fate, associated with both Servius and the archaic Fortuna cult.[200] The statue usually has been attributed to the Fortuna temple in the Forum Boarium, but recent analysis suggests that the cult statue and shrine in which the statue was placed were located on the Esquiline.[201]

THE STANDARDIZED ICONOGRAPHY OF TYCHE AND FORTUNA[202]

The iconographical features of Fortuna are recorded in imperial authors [e.g., Dio Chrysostom, *Or*., 63.7 who describes her sphere, rudder, and cornucopia and Plutarch, *De Fort. Rom*. 318A, who highlights her wings, sandals, and globe, and Fronto (p. 150.21 Van den Hout), as previously mentioned].

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84. For discussion of the colossal acrolithic statues of Antonine date representing Augustus and Faustina the Elder, see Agnoli (2000) 105-109. Further discussion: Chapter 5, 352ff.

[200] Coarelli (1988) 314. Pairault Massa (1996)105-125 adds to Coarelli's hypothesis.

[201] Coarelli (1988) 253-277, 301-328 assigns the location of the statue and shrine to the Fortuna Temple in the Forum Boarium (which he considers Fortuna Apotropaios or Fortuna Euelpis), usually interpreted in the scholarship as Fortuna Virgo. *LTUR* (1995) L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Sejani," II.278 have recently provided new information that convincingly locates the statue and shrine on the Esquiline.

[202] Recent studies of the Fortuna's iconography include Rausa (1997), Coralini (1996), Lichocka (1997). For Tyche iconography, see Villard (1997). For general bibliography on the single attributes, Nippe (1989) fn. 396 (diadem), fn. 402 (cornucopia), fn. 411 (cornucopia), fn. 412 (ship's prow), fn. 418 (globe).

Although these are imperial period notices, they are considered to be based only on Hellenistic sources, rather than contemporary observations, after the Roman-period developments in Fortuna iconography.[203] The following examination of the principal iconographical features of both Tyche and Fortuna characterizes the piecemeal development of the features and the nature of the goddesses' relationship to one another.

With the exception of the cult statues previously described, the majority of the Italian evidence of Fortuna and her cult belongs to the last two centuries BCE, when Tyche was formulated into a standardized image. Because of the shared iconographical features between Fortuna and Tyche, the term "Tyche-Fortuna" is a way of showing Fortuna's affinity with and dependence on Tyche. For example, as I will explain below, the archaeological and literary evidence confirm that the cornucopia and mural crown became associated with Tyche statuary by the fourth century BCE and that the rudder was a Hellenistic attribute, all of which were eventually adopted as the iconography of Fortuna. However, the use of term "Tyche-Fortuna" is incorrect because some of Fortuna's best known statue types and iconographical features (such as the rudder and globe combination and rudder and wheel combination), discussed below, are evidenced only between the mid–first century BCE and first–second centuries CE in Rome, rather than the Greek world.

[203] E.g., Villard (1997) 116.

Cornucopia

The account of one of the supposedly earliest statues of Tyche is found in the writings of the second century CE author Pausanias. He describes Boupalos' supposed sixth century BCE statue of Tyche, which held a cornucopia.[204] Traditionally, scholars have accepted that this statue is the prototype for all subsequent images of Tyche and Fortuna.[205]

Fullerton's recent analysis of Boupalos' Tyche statue, however, directly affects the theory of the early formulation of Tyche's iconography and invites reconsideration of the role of early Tyche iconography on Fortuna cults.[206] Fullerton argues that, since Tyche is never portrayed in the archaistic style in later periods and the body types of extant Tyche statues conform to neo-Attic[207] statuary practice of the second and first centuries BCE, the existence of Boupalos'

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[204] Paus. 4.30.6.

[205] E.g., In the Tyche catalogue, Matheson (1994a), Matheson (1994b) 20 and Broucke (1994) 36 accept the archaic date of Boupalos. Champeaux (1982) 455-459 argues that the early development of the Tyche cult in the Greek East and Sicily affected early Fortuna cults in Italy. For example, she argues that Boupalos' cult statue of Tyche, dated to 540 BC, could have been utilized in the creation of the Fortuna cult statue in S. Omobono. In addition, she argues that the concept of Tyche recorded in Pindar's *XII Olympian*, namely, the Tyche *Soteira*, and Kallistonikos' fourth century statue of Tyche holding Ploutos (discussed below), were early models for Fortuna the mother of Jupiter and Fortuna the daughter of Jupiter at the Fortuna Primigenia cult of Praeneste.

[206] Fullerton (1990), 85-102, who echoes the observations in Szilagyi (1966) 1039. Palagia (1994) 65 disagrees with the early date of the Boupalos statue. Villard (1997) 116-117, 125 with bibliography, also questions the early date of Boupalos' statue and the problems in dating it.

[207] For a recent assessment and definition of neo-attic sculptors and sculpture, see Fullerton (1997) 427-440 and Fullerton (1998a) 93-99.

archaic Tyche statue is doubtful.[208] A lack of numismatic representations of Tyche before the mid-fourth century BCE supports Fullerton's hypothesis. He argues that Pausanias may have confused the archaic sculptor Boupalos with the homonymous Hellenistic sculptor.[209] Fullerton suggests that Tyche statuary gradually accumulated its implements, beginning in the mid- to late fourth century BCE, not before. Recently, his argument has found favor among many archaeologists and art historians.[210]

Despite the recent questioning of the Boupalos Tyche statue, by the late sixth century BCE, literary sources define the cornucopia as an agrarian symbol and the horn of Amaltheia.[211] It appears on vases by the second quarter of the fifth century BCE.[212] In the fifth century, the cornucopia becomes the attribute of

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[208] Original statuary masterpieces and later "copies" of them have been the subject of several individual studies of Fortuna and Tyche statuary. See Palagia (1982) on the statue of Agathe Tyche in the Athenian agora, Nippe (1989) on the stylistic and typological study of the Fortuna Braccio Nuovo type, Edwards (1990) on a Tyche statue with Nemesis attributes in the Corinthian agora, and Traversari (1993), on the workshop that produced the Tyche of Prusias ad Hypium. See below.

[209] Fullerton (1990) 85-102. It is plausible that Pausanias mistook a statue with archaistic features for the archaic statue by Boupalos (if, in fact, it had existed, and was lost or destroyed). See Ridgway (1993) 303-319 for a discussion of archaic, archaizing, and archaistic statues. For a more recent (and different) attempt to define these terms, see Fullerton (1998b) 69-77. Indeed, a reproduction of a lost original may not have been a faithful reproduction, depending on the aims of the sculptor and patron: Bartman (1992), Ridgway (1984), de Grummond and Ridgway (2000).

[210] E.g., Palagia (1994) 65, fn. 4 for a recent bibliography of authors who argue the Tyche statue was created by a Hellenistic sculptor Boupalous and not the archaic sculptor.

[211] Phokylides, Frg. 7 (ed. T. Bergk, PLG II), Anakreon, Frg. 8 (ed. T. Bergk, PLG III), Bemmann (1994) 16.

[212] Bemmann (1994) 18.

chthonic deities.[213] By the first quarter of the fourth century BCE, Agathe Tyche appears holding a cornucopia on a marble relief from the Athenian Asclepieion.[214]

The child, Ploutos, depicted with fourth century statues of both Eirene and Tyche, may, in fact, symbolically replace the cornucopia. The sculptors Xenophon from Athens and Kallistonikos from Thebes were commissioned to create an acrolithic statue of Tyche in Thebes (Pausanias 9.16.2). They sculpted a statue of Tyche holding the child Ploutos (Wealth). The format of the acrolithic statue is very similar to Kephisotodos' more famous statue group of Eirene (Peace) holding Ploutos.[215] The artists who were commissioned to create a cult statue of Tyche for the Thebans probably took inspiration from Kephisotodos' statue.[216] Praxiteles made a statue of Tyche for a temple in Megara (Pausanias 1.43.6) and a statue of Agathe Tyche (i.e., Good Fortune) in Athens (Aelian *Var. Hist*. 9.39, Pliny N.H. 36.23) holding a cornucopia in her left hand and patera in her right.

The earliest recorded depiction of Fortuna with a cornucopia does not predate the second century BCE.[217] None of the artistic or literary evidence

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[213] Bemmann (1994) 20-35, 48-71.
[214] Villard (1997) 118 I. A. 1-2, 5-10.
[215] Pausanias 1.8.2, 9.16.2, Pollitt (1990) 83.
[216] Probably for this reason Pausanias mentions both artisans in the same passage (9.16.2). Traversari (1993) traces the history of this statue type to the third century BCE, when iconographical changes occur according to new social and political factors. See chapters 4 and 5 for parallel developments of Fortuna and Tyche in the imperial period.
[217] Rausa (1997) 126, I. I. A. 3, Champeaux (1982) 43 fn. 175, Pl. VI.2. Lichocka (1997) 32-34.

regarding earlier depictions of Fortuna in Italy suggests that the Italian goddess originally held a cornucopia.

The cornucopia becomes the single most common iconographical feature of Tyche and Fortuna by the second century BCE, although it continues to be the standard symbol of many other Greek and Italian deities as well, including Demeter and Isis, goddesses of fertility and abundance. The principal reason for the popularity of this feature is the third and second century BCE Ptolemaic and Seleucid depictions of Isis or Ptolemaic queens holding a cornucopia on vases, coinage, and statuary (e.g., the statue of Tyche holding a gilded cornucopia in Delos dedicated in the second century BCE), which popularized the cornucopia and double cornucopia, linking Agathe Tyche to the Ptolemaic queens.[218] This Agathe Tyche image is commonly believed to have exerted a significant influence on the cult of Fortuna in Praeneste. [219] The combination of the cornucopia and rudder in Tyche statuary is a second century BCE phenomenon.[220]

The cornucopia, a horn of plenty, signifies fertility, abundance, and food. Such concepts were hallmark traits of both Tyche and Fortuna, as both deities were frequently associated with trade and commerce, particularly in relation to

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[218] Bemmann (1994) 82-90, 112-125. Thompson (1973). Smith (1994) 88-90 with bibliography. Walker and Higgs (2000) 92.102 depict the octadrachm of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 BCE). Obverse: Arsinoe II. Reverse: double cornucopia. They suggest that the double cornucopiae of Arsinoe II represent the strong tie between the queen and her brother, King Ptolemy II or the unification of Lower and Upper Egypt. Smith (1994) 90 argues that the two horns of plenty represent the king and queen, *Theoi Adelphoi* (sibling gods).
[219] Coarelli (1994), Smith (1994) 86-105.

grain, e.g., the Tychai of Alexandria and Syracuse (Chapter 3) and Antioch (discussed in Chapter 1), and Fortuna Huiusce Diei (Chapter 3). The double cornucopia of the Ptolemies was replicated in the sphere of procreation and succession during the Roman period, a theme already well-suited for Fortuna, given the background of the cults of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and the Fortunae of Antium.[221] Indeed, the double cornucopia of Fortuna appeared frequently in the coinage of the Roman emperors, to celebrate the birth of progeny, possibly a common feature by the late first century BCE.[222] In the imperial period, the double cornucopia appears frequently, referring the emperor's offspring, i.e. in a number of Julio-Claudian examples.[223] This theme continued under the Flavians, the Antonines, and Severans.[224] For example, a portrait of Julia Domna holding a statue of Abundantia, signifies her "double" abundance and fecundity, in the form of two male heirs, Caracalla and Geta.[225]

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[220] E.g., second century BCE coinage: Villard (1997) 121 B. f. 62, 63; see the section on the rudder below.

[221] Fn. 147.

[222] The theme may have been present as early as the Sullan period; Sulla named his twins Faustus and Fausta: Plut., *Sulla* 34.3. Note that the double cornucopia and caduceus represent felicitas and Fortuna: *RRC* 527, no. 520, p. 742ff.

[223] E.g., the busts of the twin sons of Drusus are depicted in two corncuopia, facing each other, a caduceus in the middle: 22/23 CE: *BMCRE* 1, 133, nos. 95-97; RIC (second ed.) 1, 97, no. 42 Sestertius, Rome; Rose (19970 28, fn. 104. The two daughters of Claudius, Antonia III, Octavia III, flank a bust of Britannicus. Again, a bust of each daughter is placed on a cornucopia. didrachm, Patras, 42/3; Rose (1997) 41, *RPC* 1255, *CNR* 15.271-3. Augustus and Livia in Alexandria: *RPC* 5006.

[224] E.g., Vespasian celebrated his two sons, Titus and Domitian: *BMCRE* II 219, 886-891, 43.5-7.

[225] The goddess Abundantia was strongly related to Fortuna: Barreiro (1981) 7-10, Kleiner (1992) fig. 207, 325-329.

Scholars generally associate the horn of plenty with a beneficial distribution of goods.[226] Instead, the cornucopia may convey two contrasting meanings simultaneously. First, the cornucopia may have positive connotations because it represents the gifts that the goddess bestows on individuals and cities.[227] Indeed, in artistic depictions, the cornucopia is usually associated with Agathe Tyche and Bona Fortuna (the positive aspects of the goddess of Chance). Second, as first century CE philosophers believed, the gifts bestowed by Fortuna from her horn of plenty could be good or bad, lasting or ephemeral.[228] As previously discussed, the significance of the Agathe Tyche and Bona Fortuna cults was an appeal to and attempt to placate the fickle power of Tyche and Fortuna.[229] As a result, the depictions of Fortuna and Tyche with a cornucopia convey both positive and negative connotations, depending on the circumstances of the viewer.

Headgear

Much of the background of the mural crown has been discussed in the examination of the Tyche of Antioch statue (Chapter 1). Tyche coins of the

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[226] The most commonly cited passage is Dio Chrysostom, *Oration*, 63.7.
[227] Lichocka (1997) 32-34.
[228] *Tabula of Cebes* 7-8. See Fitzgerald and White (1983) and below, part III.
[229] Chapter 1, 41ff., Chapter 2, 54ff.

fourth century depict the goddess with a mural crown,[230] in imitation of city walls.[231] This headgear stems from Eastern crown prototypes.[232] The image was popularized with Eutychides' statue of the Tyche Antioch, created at the beginning of the third century BCE.[233] Fortuna wearing a mural crown during the Roman Republic was rare, usually reserved for depictions of Mater Magna (even though the mural crown appeared on Tyche representations before those of Cybele).[234] Fortuna wearing the mural crown was more common during the imperial period than the Republican, e.g., the multiple representations of Fortuna on the Trajanic Arch of Beneventum.[235]

Tyche also appears wearing a polos, although, given the questionable date of the archaic Boupalos statue, possibly no earlier than the second century BCE.[236] The modius (a basket for grain measure) or kalathos (small cylindrical

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[230] Déonna (1949) 119-236.
[231] E.g., Hill (1904) Salamis, no. 67, Metzler (1994) 76-85.
[232] Metzler (1994) 76-85, Hörig (1979) 129-197.
[233] Chapter 1, 21ff.
[234] *RRC* 356/1a (84 BCE), 409/2 (67 BCE), 431/1 (55 BCE), Lichocka (1997) 89-91. Tyche appears on coinage with a mural crown in the fourth century BCE; representations of Cybele with a mural crown do not predate the third century BCE, Naumann (1983) 242-246, Chapter 1, fn. 9, 11.
[235] The mural-crowned female figures on the arch have been variously identified: Torelli (1997), Rausa (1997) 140, with summary. I adhere to Simon's assessment, Simon (1979/ 1980) 10, that they are Fortuna figures.
[236] Pindar, referring to Tyche as "pherepolis" (from a lost work of Pindar, cited in Pausanias 4.30.6) may be a pun of "polos"- "polis," according to Palagia (1994) 65. Müller (1915). On the Boupalos statue, Villard (1997) 120, I. B. a. 46. The earliest dated examples of Tyche with a polos are found in Hellenistic Greek second century BCE coinage; Fullerton, cited above, has argued that the Boupalos statue is archaistic and not archaic.

crown, similar to a polos, but derived from the form of a basket),[237] diadem,[238] and stefane (tiara-like head ornament) were other common headgear of Tyche. In Italy the modius or basileion remains a common feature of private dedications of Fortuna in the imperial period, usually associating Fortuna with Isis, in the syncretized form of "Isis-Fortuna."[239] Fortuna busts wearing a diadem appear only as early as late Republican coins. [240]

Rudder

The rudder is an even more obvious symbol than the cornucopia for shipping and commerce. It became a common symbol of Tyche and Fortuna in general, and, in particular, the Tyche and Fortuna of maritime cities, such as Syracuse, Alexandria, Praeneste, Antium, and Rome.

Pindar (*Ol*. 12, fr. 19-21B) and Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 664) are the earliest Greek authors that describe Tyche as steering the lives of men. The earliest identifiable depiction of Tyche holding a rudder, on a relief from Tegea (now lost), dates to the fourth century. Villard, however, in a recent evaluation of

[237] For a discussion of the kalathos and modius in Hellenistic Egypt, see Smith (1994) 87-105, esp. 90-92.
[238] Nippe (1989) 145, fn. 396, 146, fn. 401 with bibliography.
[239] E.g., Tran Tam Tinh (1964) 72-83, Tran Tam Tinh (1990) 761-796, Arslan (1997) 265-269, Chapter 4, 241ff.
[240] *RRC* 440, Lichocka (1997) 75-83 with bibliography. See Chapter 3, 197, fn. 625, Illus. 3.6.

the relief, has questioned the identification of the rudder.[241] The other supposed early (fourth century) depiction of Tyche holding a rudder is also unclear.[242]

In fact, no depiction of the rudder is clearly discernible until the Hellenistic coinage dating from 212– 83 BCE, in Syracuse, Babelon, and Tripolis.[243] The earliest coin (212 BCE), depicting Tyche with a rudder,[244] is from Syracuse, which had a Tychaion dating to at least the fourth century BCE (and the subject of further examination in Chapter 3). In the Greek East, the clearest depiction of the rudder on the coinage of Antiochus VIII, dated to 121-96 BCE.[245] Tyche wears a polos and holds a cornucopia and what appears to be a simplified version of a rudder (or, possibly, a short staff). As previously stated, Tyche holding both a cornucopia and rudder does not occur until the second century BCE.

In the West, Terence *Eunuchus* 1046 and Lucretius 5.107 are the earliest Latin writers to define Fortuna as *gubernans* (guiding) and *gubernatrix* (conductress), titles which, in fact, would become very common epithets of the goddess in the imperial period.[246] Aside from the Syracusan coin (212 BCE), the rudder does not appear in the West in direct conjunction with Fortuna until the

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[241] Villard (1997) 118 , I. A. b. 4 with bibliography.
[242] Ibid., 118 I. A. h. 32.
[243] Ibid., 121-122, I. B. f. 62, 63.
[244] Obverse: head of Zeus, with laurel in hair, facing right. Reverse: Tyche, facing left, wears a mural crown. Her right hand holds a rudder, her left, a staff, spear, or scepter. Behind her, to her left, is a ship prow. Langher (1964) 356.794, *BMC* 126, 688.
[245] Villard (1997) 121-122, I. B. f. 63.
[246] Göttlicher (1981) 84-85.

late Roman Republican coinage of P. Sepullius Macer, whose reverse depicts Fortuna holding a double-edged rudder and cornucopia, dating to 44 BCE.[247]

In light of the analysis above, Edwards[248] and Weinstock,[249] examining late Roman Republican coins, incorrectly surmised that Macer's depiction of Fortuna with the rudder was an original Roman invention, without Greek East precedents. It is true that the rudder is featured more prominently and more frequently in imperial Roman material than that of Tyche,[250] but the association of the rudder with the goddess of Chance, as we have seen, had its beginnings in the Greek East and West.[251] Instead, the format of the Caesarian Fortuna, standing and holding a cornucopia and precisely-detailed double rudder, is particular to the Roman world, an original creation based on Greek precedents, eventually becoming the most common depiction of Fortuna during the imperial period.

There are several important iconographical combinations that are particular to the Roman period, indicating the Romans' interest in expanding the iconography of Fortuna. The Caesarian coin was preceded by the Republican coinages of 76-75 and 46, which depict the rudder (with and without the globe) as

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247 Obverse: diademed and draped bust of winged Victoria, right. Reverse: Fortuna standing left, holding rudder (right hand) and cornucopia (left hand), P SEPVLLIVS MACER around. Silver quinarius. Rome, January 44 BCE. Sear (1998) 107 #169, *RRC* 480/25; Sydenham 1078; *BMCRR*, 550; Babelon Sepullia 9. Weinstock (1971) 124-125, Lichocka (1997) 147-149. For a further description and discussion of the coin, see Chapter 3, 202ff.

248 Edwards (1990) 533 fn. 22.

249 Weinstock (1971) 124.

250 Göttlicher (1981) 80-146.

an independent symbol of power.[252] Furthermore, as I will discuss in the following two sections, the combinations of Fortuna with the rudder and globe and Fortuna with the rudder and wheel are, respectively, imperial Roman creations of the Vespasianic and Trajanic periods, rather than Greek East and West formulations from the Tyche cult.

Ball, sphere, globe[253]

The ball, sphere, or globe itself represents a significant concept in Greek and Roman art: the *oikoumene*[254] or *orbis terrarum*, i.e., the world. In the Hellenistic period, the coinage of Demetrius Poliorketes depicted the ruler with one leg resting on a globe, indicating his dominance over the world. A painting in Athens depicted the ruler in 290 BCE striding over a representation of the *oikoumene* (Duris, *FGrH* 76, frag. 14; Eust. Il. 5.449). Such imagery was not lost on the Romans.[255] Arsinoe, depicted as a polos-crowned oikoumene, crowns her husband Ptolemy IV Philopator (depicted as Chronos) on the marble "Apotheosis

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[251] Fullerton (1990) 86, fn. 5, Fullerton (1987) 259 and Coralini (1996) 237 suggest that Tyche's rudder is based upon the iconography of Nemesis but provide no substantial proof for this hypothesis. See Karanastassi (1992) 733-762.
[252] *RRC* 407, 393/1a-1b pl. XLIX (rudder and globe), *RRC* 475, 464/3a-3c, pl. LIV (rudder and globe). Lichocka (1997) 31.
[253] Much of this section is indebted to the study of *oikoumene* in Kuttner (1995a) 90-91. For the bibliography on the globe, see Nippe (1989) 147 fn. 418.
[254] Canciani (1994) 16-17, T. Schmitt *Der neue Pauly* 8 1138-1140.
[255] Dio 43.4.6 describes a similar statuary group of Julius Caesar.

of Homer" panel. Dated to the first century BCE, the panel was found in Bovillae, Italy.[256]

At the same time, the ball, sphere, or globe also represents the globe of heaven and all of the stars, which are connected with fate, according to Hellenistic religion and astrology. Mathematics, astronomy, and astrology indicated a new way to foresee one's future and perhaps alter it; Tyche and Fortuna independently became very influential in Hellenistic and Roman religion, especially with the Stoics, and became intimately associated with the powers that could alter one's destiny.[257]

Tyche perched on top of the sphere represented her power over the world and the fate of the world and the fate of individuals. The sphere became a distinct feature of Tyche and Fortuna, associated with the goddesses' unbalanced (or fickle) mood and sway over the world (Pacuvius,[258] *Tabula of Cebes* 7.1-3, Dio Chrysostom *Or*., 63.7, Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans* 317E-318A).[259] Out of all the philosophical schools, the Stoics, in particular, argued against the fickle nature of the goddess of Chance, represented by her image perched precariously on top of a globe (89ff., 110ff.).

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[256] Ridgway (1990) 257-268.
[257] Summarized in Green (1993) 453-466, 396-413.
[258] Warmington (1935-1940) II, 318, frag. 37-46; *Frag. Trag. Lat*., p. 104 Ribbek: *Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi saxoque instare globoso praedicant volubii*.
[259] These passages will be discussed in part III of this chapter.

The concept of Tyche standing precariously balanced on a ball may be derived from Lysippos' sculpture of Kairos. The artist depicted Kairos, the personification of Opportunity, which lasts but a moment, as a winged boy also in an off-balance pose.[260] Few artistic representations of Fortuna or Tyche balanced atop a sphere, as described by the literary authors cited above, actually exist; when they do, they are imperial Roman in date.[261]

The globe appears even more frequently in Roman art than Greek, representative of the *orbis terrarum*, given the Roman tendency to represent the far-reaching empire.[262] The rudder and globe appear together in the late Republic as symbols of power in Roman coinage, a parallel representation of *terra marique* in art.[263] In the last century of the Republic, the Genius Populi Romani and Roma (*RRC* 403) appear resting a foot on a globe in Roman coinage. A statue of Pompey holding a globe may have been created for Pompey's theater complex in the Campus Martius.[264] The personification of Oikoumene, with whom Fortuna often became identified iconographically by the imperial period, sometimes sharing the mural crown, as on the Gemma Augustea, was an important figure cultivated by the late Republican dynasts (e.g., Dio 37.21 describes the large trophy representing the entire oikoumene during the triumph of Pompey).

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[260] Moreno (1990) 920-926.
[261] E.g., Lichocka (1997) ill. 409 a-b from Aquileia.
[262] Kuttner (1995a) 90 fn. 132.
[263] Fn. 252.
[264] Coarelli (1996) 375-381.

Victory balanced atop a globe is also a common image in the late Republic, and the globe itself became a centerpiece in Augustus' political imagery.[265] For example, the early coinage of Octavian[266] depicts the young ruler in the same pose of Demetrius Poliorketes in the Hellenistic coinage, recognizable by an educated viewer familiar with the Greek image or literary quotation. Furthermore, after his victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus placed a Tarentine statue of Victory perched on a globe in the Curia Iulia (Dio 51.22.1). As this ostensibly "tottering" figure signified the Augustan victory, the globe of Fortuna, which first appeared beneath the rudder in the Flavian period (see below), became a new symbol of imperial victory and stability over the entire oikoumene through the intervention of the emperor's Fortuna, also reflective of the collective figure of Oikoumene.

The combination of Fortuna resting her rudder on a globe recently has been evaluated as the single-most important feature of the standardization of Fortuna during the Roman period.[267] Although Coralini identifies the earliest example of Fortuna with rudder and globe as Augustan and Nippe asserts that it is an iconographical combination of the early first century BCE,[268] the coinage and

[265] Hölscher (1967) 6ff, 22ff., 41ff.
[266] Galinsky (1996) fig. 147, 148.
[267] Coralini (1996) 232-234.
[268] Nippe (1989) 48-59, fn. 411.

statuary depicting Fortuna holding a rudder resting on a globe do not appear earlier than the late first century CE, during the reign of Vespasian.[269]

Indeed, the many Augustan images of Fortuna, e.g., Augustan coinage and Fortuna on the Mars Ultor pediment (shown on a Claudian-dated relief from the Villa Medici in Rome),[270] invariably depict Fortuna holding a rudder, *without* a globe underneath. A Flavian date for the original combination of the rudder and globe suggests an important change in the role of Fortuna at that time. The emperor has indicated more decisively that Fortuna controls and guides the fate of the civilized world of the Roman empire (*orbis terrarum*), on land and sea, under the auspices of the Roman emperors.

Wheel

The appearance of the wheel in art may date as far back as the Mycenaean period, when it was used as an apotropaic device.[271] Then, for centuries, classical Greek literary conventions attested to the symbolism of the wheel for the cycle of life, eventually adding Tyche to the matrix (Sophocles, Pearson frag. 871, *TrGF*

[269] Lichocka (1997) fig. 177 (71 CE Rome or Tarraco). Vespasianic dupondius coinage depicts Fortuna holding the rudder resting on a globe (77/78 CE), *BMC Emp*. II 207-208, 833-835 table 40.6: Rausa (1997) 129 II. 3a. 57a. For Vespasianic aureus, see Rausa (1997) 131 II. 3b. 83. *RIC* II 101(732, 739) 72-73 CE, Lugdunum.
[270] For Fortuna on Augustan coinage, see Chapter 3, 210ff. The relief is discussed in Chapter 5, 287ff.: Koeppel (1983) 98-101, Kleiner (1992)141-145, Zanker (1988a) 195-201, *Kaiser Augustus* (1988) 149-200.
[271] Robinson (1946) 207-216.

II F 700, 28-29). In the "House of Good Fortune" in Olynthus, the wheel is depicted in a mosaic with the inscription, "to Agathe Tyche," referring to the gambling theme echoed in other mosaics in the villa.[272] There is no extant depiction or literary account of Tyche with the wheel before the first century CE. However, the mosaic from Pompeii which contains an allegorical depiction of death, includes a wheel, possible alluding to Tyche's role in life and the philosophical discourse of the Hellenistic period.[273] In extant literature, the so-called wheel of Fortuna is mentioned in Latin before the wheel of Tyche in Greek; Cicero *Ad Pisonem* 22 and Tibullus 1.5.70 directly reflect the fickle and haphazard nature of the Roman goddess.

Fortuna and Tyche appear to be physically represented with the wheel before Nemesis, the Greek goddess of retribution, who is, nonetheless, initially represented by a griffin with a wheel.[274] In the classical period, the iconography of Nemesis is either unknown or totally alien to that of Tyche and Fortuna. Pausanias (1.33.2-8) describes Pheidias' cult statue of the Nemesis of Rhamnus (the wingless goddess wears a crown decorated with deer and victories, holding

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[272] Robinson et al. (1938), (1946), Lawrence (1996) 184.

[273] The mosaic (inv. 109982) was found in house I.5.2 in Pompeii. The level of a plumb bob is perched on a skull (representing death), in turn balanced on a butterfly (the soul), on a wheel (Tyche or Fortuna in life). On the left end of the level hangs a purple cloak and scepter (symbols of royalty), and on the right hangs a beggar's cloak, bag, and stick (poverty). See De Caro (1994) 191. For Tyche in the Hellenistic discourse:*Tabula of Cebes*: part III.

[274] Simon (1995) 128-130. Lichocka (1997) 31-32 (with bibliography) dates the provincial relief from Isernia, depicting Fortuna or Nemesis and the attributes of wheel, rudder, and globe, to the first century CE. *Contra*, see Ryberg (1955) 34-35, fig. 18 Pl. IX, who dates the relief to the first century BCE. Hornum (1998) 131-138 discusses the statuary depicting Nemesis with wheel and trampled enemy underfoot as a product of the Trajanic period.

an apple tree branch in her left hand, and a phiale in her right).[275] Pliny (*N.H.* 28.22) cites a statue of Nemesis dedicated on the Capitoline hill, without mentioning its date, creator, and iconographic scheme. Pliny (*N.H.* 36.17) cites Agorakritos' statue of Nemesis. In a recent study of Nemesis in the Greek East from the classical to imperial periods, Karanastassi attributes Roman-dated Nemesis statuary, with griffin, wheel, kalathos, rudder, and globe, to lost fourth-century and Hellenistic prototypes.[276] The late (Roman imperial) date of the evidence, instead, strongly suggests that the Nemesis statuary did not receive the wheel attribute (and rudder and globe, for that matter) until it had been associated, first, with the Fortuna and Tyche statuary.

The exact nature of the syncretism of Nemesis and Fortuna and Tyche is even more obscure and less studied than the phenomenon of Fortuna and Tyche with the characteristics of Isis during the Hellenistic period.[277] A recent study of Nemesis indicates that important developments in the Nemesis cult took place in the imperial period.[278] Indeed, only in the imperial Roman period, does Fortuna (and subsequently Tyche) "share" her wheel attribute with Nemesis; in fact, in the

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[275] Karanastassi (1992) 733ff. with bibliography.
[276] Karanastassi (1992) 733-762, esp. 750 (180a-b, 181-183), 761. For a similar discussion regarding supposedly lost fourth century and Hellenistic Tyche statuary as models for Roman-period Fortuna statuary, see below.
[277] Hamdorf (1964) 35-36, 96-97. Karanastassi (1992) 733-762. In her upcoming book on Pergamon, A. Kuttner considers the importance of Adraste and Nemesis (and their relationship with Cybele and Tyche) in their Pergamene context and their influence on the socio-political and religious culture in second and first centuries BCE Rome.
[278] Hornum (1993). However, this study is criticized by Levine (1997) 301-302 precisely because he does not explore fully the complex issue of the interactions among Fortuna, Tyche, and Nemesis.

Roman period, the wheel occurs more frequently with Nemesis.[279] By the second and third centuries CE, both Fortuna and Nemesis regularly appear with the wheel, and the two become synonymous.[280] The later, Roman material suggests that the wheel of Fortuna concerns the vicissitudes of life and the goddess' power over individuals' lives, whereas the wheel of Nemesis is more commonly associated with "just punishments: hence its role in games and spectacle."[281]

The addition of the wheel to the rudder of Fortuna does not occur until the second century CE, during the Trajanic period, even though, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, it could have been an important part of Fortuna's iconography as early as the Augustan period, with the creation of the cult of Fortuna Redux.[282] The wheel of Fortuna occurs in imperial art (e.g., flanking Fortuna on a large number of historical reliefs depicting the temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome),[283] coinage, and statuary by the Trajanic period, either attached to the globe and rudder or with the rudder alone by the second century CE, reflecting the uncertain nature of Fortuna, even when she has become subsumed into imperial rhetoric.[284]

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[279] Hornum (1993) 26 and passim.
[280] E.g., Martianus Capella 1.88 equates Fortuna, Nortia, and Nemesis; *S.H.A.* Max. et Balb. 8.6; *CIL* III 1125 (*deae Nemesi sive Fortunae*); Wissowa (1912) 377-379.
[281] Hornum (1993) 27.
[282] E.g. Trajanic and subsequent imperial coinage depict the wheel of Fortuna: *BMCE* III 60, 203-204, tab. 13.1; 97, 478, tab. 17.9; 112-114, 569-581, tab. 19.13-14. Rausa (1997) 132 II. 4a. 104, 105a, 105b.
[283] E.g. relief from the Trajanic Forum Iulium, Rausa (1997) 133 7.119 with bibliography. See Chapter 5, 330, Illus. 5.4.
[284] As noted in Rausa (1997) 140-141.

The wheel, in a negative sense, as previously observed, indicates the capriciousness of Tyche and Fortuna. A significant change in the meaning of the wheel occurred only after the institution of the cult of Fortuna Redux, which was created by the Senate in 19 BCE, in thanks to the Fortuna who brought the emperor back safely from his travels in the East (discussed in Chapter 5). The wheel then came to symbolically represent the travels and the physical return of the emperor; indeed, the wheel was used in the imperial period to represent important roads.[285] In the imperial period, the fickle nature of Tyche perched off-balance on the globe was reinterpreted through the placement of Fortuna's rudder on top of the globe, a symbol of her guidance of the Roman state. Likewise, the appearance of the wheel underneath Fortuna's rudder became a symbol of the safe return of the emperor to Rome and the goddess' magical power over fate and vicissitudes in life.

Other attributes

Fortuna has many other less prominent iconographical features.[286] Tyche holds a patera, a generic attribute, as early as the fourth century Alexandrian depictions of the goddess.[287] It is occasionally featured on Roman coinage as

[285] Ganschow (1997) 236-237.
[286] Lichocka (1997) 151-272.
[287] Villard (1997) 119 I. A. g. 19, 21.

well.[288] The prow is more commonly associated with Fortuna, usually as the base on which Fortuna rests her rudder, stressing her affiliation with maritime trade and ships of war.[289] A winged Fortuna or Tyche is uncommon, although not unheard of.[290]

The Romans' image of imperial Fortuna

According to the previous review of iconographical traits, by the second century BCE, Tyche appears with what will become her standard attributes: modius, polos, or mural crown, patera, cornucopia, and rudder, in a variety of combinations. The most pervasive image of the goddess of Chance, however, aside from the Tyche of Antioch (Chapter 1), is that which is most likely a Roman configuration: Fortuna standing (and later, seated), holding a cornucopia and ornately rendered double rudder, with the Vespasianic addition of a globe, and Trajanic addition of a wheel.

The survey of the iconography of Tyche and Fortuna has demonstrated that the formulation of the statuary, and their implements, was gradual. Following Fullerton, I have argued that the existence of Boupalos' statue of

[288] Lichocka (1997) 72.
[289] Lichocka (1997) 38-40, Göttlicher (1981) 85.
[290] E.g., the winged Fortuna from Pompeii IX.VII.I in the Taberna delle Quattro Divinità. See also Berger-Doer (1986) 565.54-55 for the silver statuette of winged Fortuna who bears the busts of eleven gods. A winged Fortuna is cited in *On the Fortune of the Romans* 318A.

Tyche in the sixth century BCE remains questionable. Furthermore, the Hellenistic evidence of the Tyche statuary, such as the third century BCE statue of Agathe Tyche, once erected in the Athenian agora, does not provide any concrete evidence about the early implements of the goddess: her head and arms are missing.[291]

Initially, the standardization of the image of Tyche and Fortuna had been attributed to the fourth century BCE; Guerrini was one of the early proponents of this interpretation, followed by many others.[292] The fourth century prototype has been identified in the famous Fortuna "Braccio Nuovo" type in the Vatican Museums, which holds a rudder resting on a globe, dating to the Trajanic period.[293]

The standard approach to interpreting the late Hellenistic and Roman material, including the Fortuna "Braccio Nuovo" type, has been the *Kopienkritik*: working backward from the extant, later "copies" to reconstruct the lost "originals."[294] This method is still practiced today, but has been substantially

[291] Palagia (1980), who tentatively identified the statue as Demokratia, noted that body type and clothing features and textures of the statue most closely match a much better preserved imperial-dated statue of Tyche, holding a cornucopia and rudder. She confirms her suspicions that it is Tyche in Palagia (1994) 65-66.
[292] Coralini (1996) 228, 230, fn. 37, 38, 249. Guerrini (1987) 225-256, Champeaux (1987) 52-57.
[293] The statue rests its weight on its left side, wearing a long chiton, tied under the waist, and a *himation* that extends to her feet. The head is not original. The left hand holds a cornucopia, and the right hand holds a double rudder resting on a globe. Another type, Fortuna "Claudia Iusta" reviewed in Rausa (1997) 128ff. appears derived from the Fortuna "Braccio Nuovo" type.
[294] For recent criticism of the *Kopienkritik*, see Ridgway (1984), Bartman (1992), Fullerton (1990), (1998a), de Grummond, Ridgway (2000) 4-5. For a defense of this practice, see Hallett (1995) 121-160.

challenged and revised in recent years, replaced by a more nuanced understanding of Roman eclecticism[295] and the identification of types versus prototypes.[296]

More recently, Nippe has more thoroughly identified many of the traits of the "Fortuna-Braccio" type and argued that its origins do not predate the early first century BCE.[297] Nippe's focused study concludes that the statue's prototype was conceived no earlier than the early first century BCE (through Thasian statuary, in turn based on fourth century prototypes).

The time period to which Nippe assigns the Fortuna "Braccio Nuovo" type, the early first century BCE, corresponds to the period of Sullan domination in Rome. Sulla's interest in Fortuna, tied to his personal veneration of Venus (reviewed in Chapter 3, 185ff.), may have resulted in the contemporary creation of a distinct Fortuna type, which is preserved in a wall painting in Pompeii, dating to the Flavian period.[298] The figure has been identified as Venus Pompeiana, a representation of the cult statue from the Temple of Venus dedicated by Sulla upon its reduction to colonial status. Venus wearing a mural crown and holds a rudder, both common attributes of Tyche by the second century BCE, essentially representing the Fortuna (or personification) of the maritime city after it had been rededicated under Sulla as Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum. The

[295] Zanker (1974), Hölscher (1987), Fullerton (1998a), Galinsky (1996) 332-375.
[296] E.g., Ridgway (1984), (1990).
[297] Nippe (1989).
[298] The fourth style wall painting from Pompeii VI, IX, 6/7, House of the Dioscouri, further discussed in Chapter 3, 185ff.

securely-identified Fortuna-type figure from Pompeii is, however, distinct from the Fortuna "Braccio Nuovo" type.

In contrast, P. Sepullius Macer's coin, dating to the period under the influence of Julius Caesar, marks the first substantial evidence for the formulation of Fortuna, which would become most popular in the imperial period (Chapter 3, 202ff.). It was distinct from its Greek predecessors, through the absence of a modius, polos, or mural crown and the presence of a well-defined double rudder. The coincidence of the Caesarian coin and the Fortuna "Braccio Nuovo" type, with the exception of the rudder-globe configuration (a Trajanic period development) signifies the prominence of Fortuna within the religio-social environment of Julius' Caesar's dominance in Rome. So important was this image in Rome that Mark Antony and Octavian quickly copied it for their own coinage (Chapter 3, 210ff.), with later additions of a Vespasianic globe and Trajanic wheel under the rudder.

In light of this analysis, the previously cited imperial sources can be viewed in a new light. The descriptions of Fortuna found in the passages of pseudo-Cebes, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, and Fronto reflect the appearance of imperial Fortuna rather than that of Hellenistic Tyche. The single, standardized imperial-period image was utilized in numerous circumstances under the emperors, including Trajan's Fortuna Panthea, and the second and third century Fortuna "Regia," part of the Roman emperor's bedroom cult of the goddess

(discussed in Chapter 5). As a result, the term "Tyche-Fortuna" is inappropriate to describe the goddess Fortuna, the product of imperial Roman intervention under the emperors.

FORTUNA IN LITERATURE

The literary studies of Erkell and Kajanto have helped advance our understanding of the various meanings of Fortuna. Erkell explained the nuanced terms of Felicitas and Fortuna, and their relationship with Tyche.[299] In what is primarily a philological inquiry (with no examination of the artistic depictions of Fortuna and Tyche), Erkell underlines the dependency of Felicitas on Fortuna, and the distinction of Felicitas from Fortuna.[300] Like Erkell, Kajanto also based his studies primarily on epigraphic and literary accounts, in addition to an analysis of the diverse origins, iconography (on a limited scale), and epithets of Fortuna.[301] He explains the difference and similarities in meaning between Fortuna and Tyche, in cult and literature, through a survey of Latin literature, from the Republic to the late empire.

"Tyche–Fortuna" is a term that occurs frequently in literary (and, as we have seen, art historical) studies. However, there is no epigraphic record for such

[299] Erkell (1952) 41-128 (Felicitas), 129-182 (Fortuna). For a discussion of Felicitas: Chapter 3, 162ff.
[300] Erkell (1952) 50-53, 120-128, 131.

a term; indeed, the Romans never described Fortuna through this academic typology. The literary studies include the term "Tyche–Fortuna" to describe Fortuna only when she plays the role of a fickle, untrustworthy deity of chance;[302] modern literary scholarship does not consider "Tyche–Fortuna" reflective of Fortuna in the setting of Roman religion. Indeed, Kajanto contends that, "It is thus unlikely that Hellenistic Fortuna-Tyche, the personification of blind chance, should have had any great influence upon the Roman ideas of Fortuna as an object of popular cult."[303]

Art historians also have ignored the possibility that artistic representations of Fortuna can convey any real, negative connotations in cult settings, using the term "Tyche–Fortuna" only to define the Fortuna statuary decorated with the well-known iconographical features of Tyche. Without this term, however, one may more easily comprehend that the undercurrents of blind uncertainty and unfavorable chance, usually attributed by scholars of literature and art history solely to Tyche, were very much a part of the identity of Roman Fortuna by the second century BCE.[304]

It is possible to trace this misunderstanding of the Fortuna cult in literary studies through a brief example. Kajanto originally was interested in the variety

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[301] Kajanto (1981) 502-558.
[302] Ibid., 521-557.
[303] Ibid., 517.
[304] Chapter 2, 55ff.

of meaning associated with Fortuna in Livy, and subsequently Ovid.[305] Such studies led to his important *ANRW* article, which attempted to summarize our knowledge of Fortuna, from her origins to the Christian era, a successor to Patch's study.[306] Beyond a brief discussion of the archaeological remains of the earliest Fortuna shrines, however, Kajanto's study is philological rather than archaeological or art historical. In addition to his conclusion that Fortuna with Tyche characteristics was only a literary construction, Kajanto encapsulated the meanings of Fortuna in literature into "active" (i.e., a cause or superhuman agent) and "passive" (i.e., an effect) meanings, depending on the significance each ancient author chose to adopt.[307]

His considerations of iconography depend primarily on literary accounts and limited numismatic evidence. Without an in–depth assessment of other art historical evidence, such as cameos, wall paintings, and statuary (as found in the recent studies of Rausa, Coralini, and Lichocka), Kajanto's arguments are weakened. As a result, he portrays two Fortunae: that of cult and art, and the other of the literary imagination, usually based on Hellenistic models. Lack of an in depth inquiry into the practices of the Fortuna cult in Rome, which include

[305] Kajanto (1957), (1961).
[306] Patch (1922).
[307] Kajanto (1981) 521-525.

artistic representations (discussed in the previous section), severely impairs Kajanto's portrayal of Fortuna through the centuries. [308]

> In attempting to evaluate the importance of Greece upon the evolution of the cult of Virtues at Rome, it is essential to realize that the process was more complicated than the mere expropriation of Greek cult objects. In some instances direct parallels exist... Fortuna–Tyche. However, the phenomenon was more than mere cult borrowing. It involved nothing less than the transmission of the basic language of Greek politics and its absorption into the social and political structure of the Roman state.[309]

The reductive distinctions that have arisen in current scholarship detract from the multivalent image of Fortuna in the ancient world.[310]

The most noted descriptions of Tyche are in the imperial writings of pseudo-Cebes, Dio Chrysostom, and Plutarch. The most detailed descriptions of Fortuna are those of Horace (Ode 1.35)[311] and Pliny the Elder. Each refers to the attributes of the goddess, thereby signifying that the her power depended on her accoutrements.

The discussion, however, is far from complete without acknowledgement of some inherent distinctions in society: private versus public (very nuanced in Rome); the notion of the personalization of Fortuna cult; the philosophical

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[308] E.g., Kajanto (1981) 518-520 denies any substantial connection among Fortuna, Nemesis, and Isis.

[309] Fears (1981b) 856.

[310] There are clear instances in literary and epigraphic accounts that deny such categorization. Note Cicero's (*Nat. D.* 3.63, *Leg.* 2.28)and Pliny the Elder's (*N.H.* 2.16) accounts of the existence of the Esquiline altar of Mala Fortuna, which along with the cults of Fortuna Dubia, Fortuna Brevis, etc. (see above, 57ff.), contrast with the plethora of Fortuna epithets with positive connotations. In Latin literature, Fortuna appears as blind, capricious, and malevolent (see

background inherent in any modern analysis of Fortuna; the role of Fortuna for elites versus non-elites, which in turn reflects the popularization and common placation of Fortuna versus the attempts to deny her power on a rational basis.

The end result of all who dealt with Fortuna was that they wished to acquire some elevated status, either through denying her power all together, in order to make it through life with less anxiety, or by personally placating her in public or private cults. In the latter case, however, people, whether they be commoners or emperors, ran the risk of losing everything, due to the pitfalls inherent in her character. All of these attitudes of anxiety, fear, and indifference towards Fortuna are manifest not only in literary and epigraphic evidence, but also visual representations, described by the authors.

Tabula of Cebes

Kajanto [1981] 530-532), reflecting one side of the personality of the goddess, rather than Greek Hellenistic topoi alone.

[311] Chapter 5, 266ff.

In particular, the *Tabula of Cebes,* probably dating to the first century CE, gives an ekphrastic description of Tyche, which is rich in detail.[312] The text is an ekphrasis of an imaginary painting that centers on Tyche, blind and tottering on a rock. It is explained as follows:

> These people here, who appear to be rejoicing and laughing, are those who have received something from her. They call her Good Fortune. But these who appear to be crying [with outstretched arms], are those whom she has taken back what she has earlier given them. These, in turn, call her Bad Fortune...[She gives] wealth, of course, reputation, nobility, children, monarchies, kingdoms, and all the other things like these. (8.2-4)

In his philosophical treatise, pseudo-Cebes presents the formulation on how to lead a successful life by "conversion" to a Stoic philosophical outlook on what is really good and bad in life. In the relief, which he describes, he denounces the power of Tyche as untrustworthy, for commoner and aristocrat alike, much in line with the contemporary treatise by Seneca, *De Providentia,* which is addressed specifically to the young emperor Nero.[313]

Dio Chrysostom's *Orations* on Tyche

[312] For a review of the scholarship, see Fitzgerald and White (1983) 1-4.
[313] E.g., Ferguson (1970) 80.

Dio Chrysostom is another essential imperial Greek author who discusses Tyche. He is also familiar with the *Tabula of Cebes*.[314] Dio's discussion (*Oration* 65) has the same philosophical slant as pseudo-Cebes' text, countering the popular notions of Tyche, though it remains centered on a discussion of the deity and her traits. He, too, depicts her standing on a sphere, and haphazardly throwing out her gifts (12). In *Orations* 63 and 64, rightly or wrongly attributed to Dio (indeed, 64 was probably written by Favorinus, Dio's student),[315] discussion of Tyche continues with further elaboration of the goddess' attributes. The author describes her standing on a sphere, holding a rudder, for guiding sailors and the lives of men, and cornucopia, for offering or tempting to offer men rich rewards (64.5-7). In this case, Favorinus discusses the attributes without reference to philosophical discourse, and, rather, explains them through literary anecdotes that explain her as a pantheistic deity (64.8). There is no indication that the author refers to artistic depictions of Tyche dating to the fourth century BCE rather than contemporary depictions of Tyche (and Fortuna). Indeed, Dio's explanations of Tyche with rudder, globe, and cornucopia (63.7) are more appropriate of imperial depictions of Fortuna contemporary with Dio rather than

[314] Fitzgerald and White (1983) 3, 19, 37 fn. 62

[315] Emperius denied the authenticity of the three Tyche orations in the Dio corpus. Von Arnim (1898) refutes them on the basis of stylistic criteria. Jones (1978) does not place them within the Dio corpus. Recently, Gleason (1995) 12-13 identifies Favorinus, the pupil of Dio, as the author of *Oration* 64. In the discussion of iconography, however, Dio is commonly cited. See Villard (1997), Fitzgerald and White (1983).

Hellenistic depictions of Tyche, according to the previous examination of Fortuna imagery and iconography in the section above.

The texts of pseudo-Cebes, Dio Chrysostom, and Plutarch (discussed in the following section) all include in their discussions of Tyche an ekphrastic description of the goddess, describing her attributes and explaining their significance. It implies that the image of Tyche contained her real power and meaning. However, each author chose to put the goddess' iconography into the context of his particular discussion, and, therefore, the goddess became the vehicle through which the philosopher or rhetorician arrived at his conclusion.

Many of these polyvalent meanings of Fortuna were already in place before the rule of Augustus. Under his auspices and those of his successors, however, the religious and artistic conventions developed into a more sophisticated and regularized semantic system than had been the case previously.[316] These changes are reflected in new creations in imperial art and the writings of imperial authors, rather than unimaginative imperial copies of Tyche from Greek Hellenistic culture.

Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans*

[316] For the idea of a semantic system in Roman art, see Hölscher (1993), (1994). The concept of polysemy under Augustus' rule is most recently and comprehensively addressed by Galinsky (1992).

On the Fortune of the Romans, which discusses the importance of Fortuna in historiography, rhetoric, philosophy, art, and cult, merits an examination within its own first century CE context. Previous studies have considered Plutarch's essay on Fortuna merely a generic document as part of the Hellenistic arete-Tyche topos.

In a rhetorical, quasi-philosophical discourse Plutarch provides the primary example in antiquity of how educated Greeks (i.e., the author himself) and the Romans (possibly the intended audience) considered Fortuna during the principate. Using standard topoi associated with Fortuna and Tyche to combine the background of each goddess into a single history, Plutarch makes no distinction between Fortuna and Tyche, whom he considers the goddess most responsible for the supremacy of Rome and the Roman emperor. Despite previous studies that cite the pro-Greek, anti-Roman sentiments of the treatise, I will argue that, through its enthusiasm for Fortuna's support of Rome and its emperor, the text is overwhelmingly pro-Fortuna and pro-Roman.

One goddess of Fate or Chance

Writing in Greek, Plutarch defines the goddess of Chance as "Tyche."[317] He describes the goddess departing from the East, stopping momentarily in some of the Eastern empires (the Persian empire and the Greek empires of Alexander, the Antigonids, Ptolemies, and Seleucids), and finally establishing herself permanently in Rome (4/317E–318A). Plutarch does not distinguish between Tyche and Fortuna because he never suggests in this description that the goddess Tyche changes her name and identity to Fortuna when she arrives in the Italy. Furthermore, throughout the treatise, Plutarch describes the goddess of Fate or Chance with the iconographical traits that characterize both Tyche and Fortuna (317E-318A). In addition, in his review of Roman shrines and temples dedicated to Fortuna (318F-319B, 322C-323A), he translates the Latin names of the Roman monuments dedicated to Fortuna into Greek and always translates "Fortuna" in Greek as "Tyche."

The list of Fortuna cults offers another indication that Plutarch does not differentiate between the Roman and Greek goddesses. In section 5/319B, he transliterates the Latin epithet "Fortem" into the Greek characters "φόρτιν," in the phrase, "Τύχην φόρτιν καλοῦσιν," to describe the cult of Fors Fortuna in Rome. However, Plutarch translates "Fortuna" as "Tyche," suggesting that, in

[317] *On the Fortune of the Romans* examines Fortuna and her cult in Rome through the terms Tyche, eutychia, Agathe Tyche, and daimon. See Brenk (1977) 146-161, 183. Plutarch refers to Tyche fifty-five times. He refers to eutychia only five times, in sections 316D, 319B, 320B, 321E, 322C. Agathe Tyche is mentioned once, in 321C. Plutarch replaces Tyche with daimon twice

this treatise, he deliberately uses the Greek term Tyche consistently to describe the one and only goddess of Chance. *On the Fortune of the Romans* also demonstrates the importance of the distinction between the cults of Felicitas and Fortuna in Rome. Writing in Greek, Plutarch refers to "Tyche" in his discussion of Roman "Fortuna" and eleven Fortuna cults in Rome. In this list of Fortuna cults, Plutarch never mentions the cult of Felicitas.[318]

The date of the text

The style and rhetorical content characterize *On the Fortune of the Romans* as one of Plutarch's earliest works, written as early as in the 60s CE, alongside *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great* and *On the Athenians*, as early rhetorical recitations.[319] *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great* and *On the Fortune of the Romans* essays conclude with the death of Alexander.[320] The shared arete-Tyche theme also may suggest that the treatises were composed during the same period of time. Perhaps, it has been argued, the

(320A, 324B). Brenk (1977) 145-183 has addressed the distinction between daimon and Tyche in the writings of Plutarch. Also, see Swain (1989a) passim, (1989b) 273-274.

[318] Although Plutarch uses, at times, Tyche, eutychia, Agathe Tyche, and daimon to describe Fortuna in Rome (Fn. 317), he never uses the term Felicitas, which had a cult in Rome by the mid-second century BCE, a form of Agathe Tyche. For further discussion of Felicitas and its cult, related to, but distinct from Fortuna, see Chapter 3, 162ff.

[319] Ziegler (1951), Brenk (1977), Swain (1989a) 504.

[320] In *On the Fortune of the Romans*, Plutarch devotes considerable attention to the standard debate of who would have won during a battle between Alexander and the Romans (326A-C).

two essays on Alexander served as a guideline for the original format of *On the Fortune of the Romans*, which subsequently was abridged.[321] Indeed, Jones believes that these treatises are contemporaneous and rhetorical in nature.[322] The crux of Jones' argument is that the syntax and style of the three essays are different from his later (securely dated) works. Jones believes that the syntax and style of the three treatises characterize Plutarch's writing before his so-called philosophical conversion in 65-69 CE, the years when he studied with the philosopher Ammonius in Athens; therefore, he dates the work to the period of 60-65 CE.[323]

Since many features of the treatise suggest that Plutarch wrote the text when he had become familiar with Rome, including his knowledge of Latin,[324] the date of Plutarch's visit to Rome is another determining factor for the date of the treatise. Plutarch mentions that he was in Rome towards the end of Domitian's reign (*Public*. 15.3-6).[325] There is a discrepancy between the late date of Plutarch's recorded visit to Rome and the stylistic and rhetorical features,

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This theme is also discussed in Livy 9.16.19ff, an author with whom Plutarch was very familiar. See Swain (1989a) 515-516 and below.

[321] Hamilton (1969) xxx, Jones (1971) 66, Brenk (1977) 158. See Swain (1989a) 504 fn. 2 for further bibliography.

[322] Jones (1971) 67-71.

[323] Jones (1971) 16-18, 67.

[324] Plutarch himself laments his lack of knowledge of Latin (*Demosth*. 2.2), though admits that he had working knowledge of the language. See Forni (1989) 12. In *On the Fortune of the Romans*, Plutarch is familiar with Valerius Antias, and there is no reason to doubt that he consulted them himself. The passage of Livy in 5/319B (10/ 322D) follows closely the text of Livy 6.1.2ff. *Contra*, see Jones (1971) 81-87, esp. 84, argues that there is no proof that Plutarch read sources in Latin; he could have had helpers.

[325] Forni (1989) 10-11; Jones (1971) 122-130. Jones (1971) 20-27.

interpreted by Jones as characteristics of Plutarch's "earliest writings." Indeed, as I will discuss below, the pro-Roman subject matter and specific descriptions of Fortuna cult and Rome sustain that Plutarch had become familiar with Rome and probably had visited the city earlier.[326] This means that if Plutarch visited Rome before his own stated visit during Domitian's reign, it could have been as early as the Neronian period.[327]

In contrast, Forni argues that *On the Fortune of the Romans* was composed at a later date than that proposed by Jones.[328] Although he admits that the rhetoric, style, nature of the argument, and type of composition reflect Plutarch's youthful aspirations (i.e., his early training as a rhetorician),[329] Forni argues that Plutarch distances himself from his "rhetorician" past because of two specific statements that he made in the treatise. According to Forni, these statements indicate that he is writing after his conversion to philosophy.

The first statement is in passage 318E, when Plutarch explains that the Temple of Mens (Reason) was constructed when rhetoricians, sophists, and gossip arrived in Rome:

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[326] Recently, Swain has noted many "errors" in Plutarch's accounts of Rome and the cults of Virtus and Fortuna, suggesting that Plutarch was not as familiar with Rome and Roman religion as previous scholars have asserted. See Swain (1989a) 510-511. Nevertheless, Plutarch's examination of both famous and obscure Roman Fortuna cults indicates that he had researched the Fortuna cult, probably after having visited Rome, to present a specific rather than a generic account of Fortuna cult in Rome. I will discuss the "errors" below.

[327] Barrow (1967) 127-128, Jones (1971) 67-71, Swain (1989a) 504 fn. 3.

[328] Forni (1989) 9-12.

[329] Forni (1989), 9-11.

"ἤδη τότε λόγων καὶ σοφισ<μά>των καὶ στωμυλίας παρεισρυείσης εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤρχοντο σεμνύειν τά τοιαῦτα."[330] Forni is convinced that by using the term "στωμυλίας," Plutarch refers to rhetoricians in a negative light.[331]

Second, Forni interprets Plutarch's references to Democritus and Plato (316E-317C) as signs of his conversion to philosophy that date the text to 70-80 CE.[332] Plutarch summarizes Plutarch's philosophical treatise *Timaeus* and Democritus' theory of the atomic swerve. It is probable, however, that Forni has misinterpreted Plutarch's assessment of Democritus and Plato as symbolic of Plutarch's conversion to philosophy. These references do not necessarily imply his conversion. Indeed, the two rhetorical speeches, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great*, accepted as contemporaries of *On the Fortune of the Romans*, also contain numerous references to various philosophers and philosophies: Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, and Cynic, Stoic, and Pythagorean schools.[333] Because Plutarch's philosophical references in *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great* are rhetorical in nature, it is difficult to argue that the references to philosophy in the contemporary treatise *On the Fortune of the Romans* signify Plutarch's sincere conversion to philosophy from rhetoric.

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330 "Because, already, rhetors, sophists, and speakers had arrived in the city, and people were beginning to magnify such activities."
331 Forni (1989) 11.
332 Forni (1989) 11.
333 Hamilton (1969) xxix.

Furthermore, Plutarch quotes several Greek and Latin authors, including epic references (i.e., Homer, Aeschylus, and Timotheus), descriptions of Tyche (i.e., Ion, Pindar, Alcman, and Demosthenes), descriptions of persons (i.e., Pindar, Sophocles, and Menander), and historical accounts (i.e., Polybius, Valerias Antias, and Livy). Such behavior was part of the rhetor's standard repertoire, according to Quintilian (*Inst*. 1.1.36).[334] The schooling of a rhetorician, or sophist for that matter, frequently overlapped with the interests and studies of philosophers. Indeed, Plutarch, first a rhetorician, then a philosopher, appears in a prominent position among studies of sophistic literature.[335]

The cult of Fortuna in the text

Plutarch's references to the many shrines and temples of Fortuna (318F-319B, 322C-323A) were so specific that they appear to be directed toward a Roman, rather than a Greek audience.[336] Indeed, in contrast to Greek religion, Roman religion was, "a religion of place," i.e., entirely linked to the city itself and its specific topographical features.[337] For example, a temple's significance

[334] Forni (1989) 11.
[335] Bowersock (1969),104-105, 110-112. Bowersock (1974), Swain (1996).
[336] Further considerations of a Roman, rather than Greek (specifically Athenian) will be discussed below.
[337] See the relevant comments in Beard et al. (1998) I.167-174.

depended on its dedicator, the circumstances of its dedication, its location inside or outside the city, and its location in reference to its neighboring structures.[338]

By designating the Palatine hill as the site of the confrontation between Tyche and arete, Plutarch underlines the special significance of topography in Rome (318A). The Palatine was the site of Rome's foundation and Romulus' residence, and the residence of choice during the Republic. In the imperial period, it became the residence of the emperor. Plutarch states that Fortuna takes up residence there for the entirety of Roman history because Romulus (the king and founder of Rome) and the emperor (beginning with Augustus) were the Palatine's two most prestigious inhabitants. Both Romulus and Augustus are highlighted in Plutarch's review of Fortuna as some of the most important recipients of Fortuna's good will (e.g., 318319E, 321A).

Plutarch's review of eleven Fortuna shrines and temples (318F–319B, 322C–323A) is a thorough examination of early Fortuna cults in Rome. Plutarch was aware that his review of shrines and monuments was appropriate for an audience familiar with and located within the environs of Rome. Plutarch focused on the venerable age of the shrines, supporting his argument that Fortuna was always among the Romans, and not just a late arrival (318D). In comparison, he notes the tardiness of the appearance of Virtus' cult in Rome and its small number

[338] E.g., Kuttner (1993).

of shrines (318E). Plutarch presents a Roman landscape teeming in many quarters of the city with Fortuna, not Virtus, cults.

According to Plutarch, most of the dedications he reviews date back to the regal period. Archaeological evidence supports the existence of some of the archaic cult sites cited by Plutarch, such as the Temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium.[339] In other instances, such as the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitoline, literary and archaeological evidence do not confirm the archaic date of a Fortuna temple discussed by Plutarch.[340]

Plutarch has been cited for errors in his review of Virtus and Fortuna cults. Instead, since Plutarch provides accurate evidence for the majority of the Fortuna cults he cites, these few so-called errors are probably inaccuracies or distractions rather than mistakes due to his lack of knowledge of the historical situation of the Fortuna cults. For example, Plutarch was incorrect in naming Marcellus as the dedicator of the Temple of Honos and Virtus (it was his son, Marius) and Aemilius Scaurus as the dedicator of the Temple of Mens.[341] Despite recent attention paid to these so-called errors, Plutarch shows to be very familiar with Rome by presenting correct numbers, dates, dedicators, and locations for the majority of the Fortuna monuments he cites. In fact, notwithstanding scholarly

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[339] Coarelli (1988) 205-438, *LTUR* (1995) G. Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes," II.281-285.
[340] Champeaux (1987) 17-36, *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna Primigenia," II.273-275.
[341] For the Temples of Honos and Virtus see Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans*, 318E, *contra* Livy 27.25.7-9. For the temple of Mens, see Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans*,

disagreements on Plutarch's translation of Latin epithets of Fortuna cults into Greek, Plutarch is a learned source for the Fortuna cults he cites in Rome, corresponding with many Fortuna cults from a variety of Latin sources.[342]

Plutarch believes, contrary to the extant literary fonts, that Ancus Marcius, rather than Servius Tullius, dedicated the first Temple to Fortuna.[343] This has been interpreted as another error.[344] However, since Plutarch was familiar with other sources naming Servius Tullius as the founder of many Fortuna cults (he states as much in 322F-323A), Plutarch probably was consulting a different source, rather than making a careless error.

Plutarch's attention to the history of, in some cases, very obscure Fortuna shrines is important to confirm that the audience was Roman. Plutarch's detailed "list"[345] of Fortuna cults (linked to his discussion of Fortuna's champions) in Rome shows his interest and research in the early cults of Fortuna. Plutarch's considerations of Fortuna cult and iconography in Rome demonstrate that the text is more sensitive to Roman beliefs than previous studies have acknowledged.

318E, who attributes it to Aemilius Scaurus, *contra* Livy 22.9.10, 23.31.9, who names T. Otacilius Crassus.

[342] For a recent examination of the cults cited by Plutarch, see Coarelli (1988) 253-277.

[343] Swain (1989a) 510-511, Forni (1989) 20. For the dedication of the Fortuna temple by Ancus Marcius, see Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans*, 318E, *contra* Varro, *L.L.*, 6.17; Dionysius of Halikarnassus 4.27.

[344] E.g., Swain (1989a) 510-511 seriously questions Plutarch's knowledge of Latin.

[345] Swain (1989a) 511 takes it for granted that Plutarch copied a source, which listed Fortuna cults in Latin in alphabetical order. For the most recent attempt to recreate this list in Latin, see Coarelli (1988) 253-277.

Artistic imagery of Fortuna in the text

In *On the Fortune of the Romans*, Plutarch introduces Tyche by describing her flying past various empires to arrive and settle in Rome, on the Palatine hill (4/317E-318D). Plutarch uses this imagery skillfully and subtly to summarize the current political situation in which Rome dominates the world. In doing so, he merges the two distinct traditions of Tyche and Fortuna (i.e., Tyche abandons the Greek East and settles in Rome). The ekphrastic depiction of Tyche also enhances the standard historiographic topos (discussed below) by illustrating Tyche's wavering support for various kingdoms.

Plutarch includes the following attributes (shared by Tyche and Fortuna) in his portrait of the goddess: wings, winged sandals, globe, and cornucopia. Plutarch's description of the goddess' iconography is very similar to the Greek Dio Chrysostom's contemporary description of Tyche (*Oration* 63.7, 64.5-7), which explains the significance of her globe, rudder, and cornucopia, as previously discussed. The authors differ in their use of the iconography. Dio only uses it to explain Tyche's personality (e.g., the rudder represents Tyche's influence over the life of individuals). Plutarch utilizes the iconography both to explain the goddess' personality *and* favoritism for the Romans.

According to Plutarch, Tyche's arrival on the Palatine is not fickle, as her relationship with other nations, but the beginning of a lasting relationship with Rome. He depicts her in the act of discarding and retaining the iconographical

features common to her artistic representations (i.e., she drops her wings and globe, symbols of uncertainty, and keeps her cornucopia: 318A–B).

He refers to the goddess of Chance's other well known characteristics– rudder, maritime iconography, mural crown and fickleness– by allusions and metaphors in the text. Plutarch's descriptions of the physical attributes of the goddess of Chance are important because they convey her character in the absence of a strong mythological background, typical of most deities.

Plutarch does not describe Tyche holding a rudder, but he does acknowledge it immediately after his ekphrastic description of Fortuna by quoting a famous line from Pindar (Strom *fr*. 40). The rudder signifies not just Tyche's role in guiding the fate of men and cities, but also her fickle nature; like a double–edged sword, the rudder was guided by the goddess in favor of or against an individual or a state.[346] In the Roman period, the rudder also represents the stability of imperial rule or a particular imperial dynasty.

Plutarch depicts Fortuna abandoning not only her traits of wings, sandals, and globe, but also (figuratively) her rudder (318A). Indeed, he asserts that she is not bearing the ambivalent double rudder (described by Pindar). Rather, the author states, quoting the poet Alcman (318A), that she acts like the sister of Eunomia (Good Order) and Peitho (Persuasion), and daughter of Promatheia (Foresight). It is probable that Plutarch is not quoting these two famous passages

merely to provide an accurate description of Fortuna but, rather, to demonstrate a nuanced meaning of the goddess. By selecting Alcman's positive description of the goddess over Pindar's negative description, Plutarch explains that she is supportive, rather than uncertain, of the Romans. In contrast, other Greek texts refer to Tyche through literary quotations that describe her, without any indication of her social-political role, e.g., Dio Chrysostom's account of her in *Orations*, 63-65.

Maritime attributes comprise another well known feature of Tyche and Fortuna.[347] In the text, Plutarch refers to these characteristics in allusions to sea breezes (323F, 324B), sailing (318A, 319D), anchorage (317A), and Tyche's relationship with Aphrodite (e.g., 317F), another sea goddess. Venus and Aphrodite were associated with the sea, and, by the Hellenistic period, Tyche (through her association with Isis), and Fortuna, with the rudder, became favorites among sailors.[348]

There is much word play within the sea imagery in Plutarch's treatise. For example, Plutarch considers Fortuna the anchorage amid the chaos and confusion of life (317A-B). He describes when Tyche protects Julius Caesar during his

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[346] For imagery of Fortuna with rudder, see, Dio Chrysostom, *Oration*, 63.7, Galen *Protrepticus* 2. The rudder appears at least as early as 212 BE coinage from Syracuse, as discussed above.
[347] Tyche and Fortuna were associated with the sea and maritime trade: Chapter 1, 21ff. For Tyche see the discussion of Pindar and the Ptolemaic dynasty in Smith (1994). For Fortuna, see Champeaux (1982) 149-191. For a more tentative interpretation of the goddesses' sea attributes, see Kajanto (1981) 519.

stormy sea crossing (319B-D). This sea imagery becomes much more striking when juxtaposed with Plutarch's metaphor of Mark Antony, who becomes shipwrecked after crashing into Cleopatra, represented by a reef (319F). Plutarch writes that, in addition to helping her favorites (i.e., Julius Caesar, Octavian, Numa) endure, Fortuna acted to stabilize Rome in its infancy, particularly under Romulus and Numa, by providing a period of calm in a sea of trouble (321C-E). Fortuna also offered a fair wind to Rome during the Republican period (323F) and, as guardian of the city, created a favoring sea breeze for Rome during its whole existence (324B).

The mural crown, representing city walls, is another common attribute of Tyche (and, by the imperial period, Fortuna) in text and art.[349] Plutarch does not mention Tyche's mural crown but indirectly refers to it in his descriptions of Tyche as the spirit and protector of Rome (320A–326A) and her important role in the foundation of cities. Plutarch attributes to Fortuna the foundation of Rome and the success of the city (321B, 324B), Romulus, and the Roman kings (322C).

In addition, Plutarch recognizes another essential characteristic of the goddess of Chance: her ambivalence. Individuals placated the good side of the goddess of Chance in the form of Agathe Tyche and Bona Fortuna cults, but the

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[348] E.g., Dio Chrys., *Or*. 64.8 acknowledges that Tyche is also known as many maritime gods, including Leucothea (god of sailors) and the Dioscouri (gods of helmsmen). See also Chapter 3, 173ff., Chapter 4, 241ff., 250ff., 253ff.

[349] See above, 75, and Chapter 1, 1ff., 21ff**.** For the mural crown of Fortuna discussed in literature, Chapter 5, 289ff.

fickle side of the goddess was recognized as an integral part of her persona.[350] As we have seen through an examination of the iconographical features of the goddess of Chance, the wings, globe, cornucopia, and rudder can signify her fickle, bad side, as well as her good side.

The explicit discussion of the goddess' attributes and Fortuna cult in the treatise *On the Fortune of the Romans* contrasts with the treatment of the goddess of Chance in the rest of Plutarch's writings.[351] In these other writings, Plutarch does not refer to the goddess' cult or iconographical features. Furthermore, Plutarch usually treats Tyche in different fashions according to the subject chosen for a treatise.[352] For example, in his philosophical texts, such as *De tranquillitate* and *De Fortuna*, Plutarch considers Tyche a negative force and denigrates her powers.[353] The essay *De Fortuna* includes generalized descriptions and notices about Tyche only as an abstract force.[354] In his historical texts, including his accounts of the "Lives" of Timoleon, Demosthenes, Aemilius Paullus, Cicero, Sulla, Marius, Pompey, and Mark Antony, Plutarch describes Tyche as a goddess (rather than just a pervasive force) that influences events and favors or abandons

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[350] See above, 57ff.

[351] Swain (1989b) 301. However, the omission of reference to specific shrines of Tyche in Plutarch's other writings does not mean that those references to Tyche were bereft of any allusion to the goddess Tyche.

[352] Brenk (1977) 154-183, esp. 154, 183.

[353] Brenk (1977) 147, 156-157.

[354] The discussion does not suggest the time of its presentation, its location, or the nature of the audience. Therefore, I consider the content of *De Fortuna* similar to that in Dio of Chrysostom's three essays on Tyche (*Orations* 63-65).

individuals.[355] In Plutarch's historical accounts, Tyche is a powerful goddess and a force to be reckoned with, whose intervention is necessary for success in battle, politics, and life in general. The depiction of the cult of the goddess of Fate or Chance, however, is most clear in Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans*, in which he mentions and alludes to many attributes of the goddess that appear on most Tyche and Fortuna cult statuary and cites many Fortuna cults in Rome.

Recently, Swain has argued that Tyche is ambivalent in the treatise only when she possesses her wings and globe, and that as soon as she abandons these two features (and retains her cornucopia), she is no longer Tyche and becomes another deity all together: Pronoia (Providence).[356] However, the cornucopia alone could identify Tyche and Fortuna (as well as many other goddesses, e.g., Abundantia).[357] Plutarch uses the cornucopia to show the goddess of Chance's consistently benevolent attitude toward Rome. Nevertheless, for Plutarch, her capriciousness remains an important part of the goddess' identity, though reserved for the enemies of Rome and its greatest champions. For example, Plutarch explains that she causes the downfall of some of Rome's generals: Pompey

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[355] For a discussion of the meaning of Tyche in Plutarch's "Lives," see Brenk (1977) 145-183. In contrast, Swain (1989b) passim, esp. 301, the third entry on Tyche, does not acknowledge any ties between the references to Tyche in the "Lives" and Tyche cult. In fact Swain believes that Plutarch's only reference to Tyche as a goddess is in *On the Fortune of the Romans*. Beyond the fickle role of Fortuna in the life of Aemilius Paullus [see the discussion in Kajanto (1957) 86-89, Swain (1989b) 276-279, and Strazzulla (1993)], Plutarch is the best source for fickle Tyche's effect on Marius, Pompey, and Mark Antony.

[356] Swain (1989a), (1989b).

[357] Tyche: Villard (1997) 118.5-8 120.46-48. Fortuna: Rausa (1997) 128.22. Abundantia: Cahn (1981) 7-10.

(319B–D) and Mark Antony (319F–320A). Her abandonment of these two, in favor of Julius Caesar and Octavian, indicates that Plutarch still considers Tyche a fickle deity, who, however, acts in the best interest of Rome. Likewise, Plutarch's reasoning that Tyche first favored the enemies of Octavian so that he could knock them down (319E) is not "perverse,"[358] but rather an illustrated proof of Plutarch's interpretation of the uncertain aspect of the goddess of Chance.

Literary topoi in the text

In the treatise, Plutarch uses three literary topoi to explain the goddess of Chance's implicit role in history and individuals' fate: the arete-Tyche topos, Tyche in the historiographic tradition, and Tyche in the philosophical tradition. The arete-Tyche topos developed in the fourth century BCE[359] and became a common feature of the historiographic and rhetorical traditions in Rome in the late Republican period. The role of Tyche in the historiographic tradition contrasts with that of the Hellenistic philosophical tradition, which disparages the power of Tyche. I will argue that Plutarch takes all three of these traditions into consideration in *On the Fortune of the Romans* to present his interpretation of the goddess of Chance in Rome during the principate.

[358] Swain (1989a) 511, misses the point that Fortuna still retains her fickle aspects, even when Plutarch discusses her in the context of Rome and the emperor.
[359] Isocrates, Chapter 3, 145ff.

Arete-Tyche topos

Plutarch's essays *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great* and *On the Fortune of the Romans* are cited as the best–preserved extant copies of the Hellenistic arete-Tyche topos, employed in the rhetorical discussion of an individual; one part, or essay, was composed of an argument in favor of the individual's arete, another in favor of his Tyche. Therefore these treatises have been considered generic rhetorical speeches without any original features.[360]

On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great consists of two essays. In the first essay, Plutarch argues that arete was responsible for Alexander's success. In the second, Plutarch argues that Tyche was responsible for Alexander's success. Plutarch uses the arete-Tyche topos to respond to the Peripatetic philosophical tradition that attributed Alexander's success to Tyche only.[361] He frames the rhetorical theme of the comparison between arete and Tyche in his defense of Alexander in a philosophical discussion.[362]

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[360] E.g., Ziegler, *RE* II.1, 720. Kajanto (1981) 535, fn. 78. Fears (1981b) 760. The Fortuna of Alexander was a common rhetorical topic: *Rhet. Ad Her*. 4.31, Cicero, *De Or*., 2.341, *De fin*. 2.116, Livy 9.17.19, Dio of Chrysostom *Or*. 1-4, 64. See Brenk (1977) 156.

[361] Brenk (1977) 156-157.

[362] Hamilton (1969) xxix. Since the more arete a philosopher possessed, the greater he became, Plutarch argues that Alexander was the greatest philosopher (due to his excellence). In the first pro-arete essay, Plutarch also utilizes the Tyche topos in the philosophical tradition, which disparages the power of Tyche. In the second essay, Plutarch argues that Alexander's luck, good and bad, had an effect on his successes and failures, but that his arete was more influential. Thanks to his unrivaled arete, Alexander conquered the world and achieved the status of greatest

The generic quality of the arete-Tyche topos is present in imperial Latin texts as well. For example, the use of Fortuna in Curtius Rufus' history of Alexander (written during the reign of Claudius) is considered an echo of the now lost Hellenistic treatises on Alexander (stemming from the Peripatetic anti-Tyche tradition).[363] In addition, Kajanto has argued that Florus'[364] attention to Fortuna stems from the existing arete-Tyche topos, although without expressing a real opinion on the importance of Fortuna in history.[365] However, Curtius and Florus, with Tacitus and Lucan, may represent a literary movement particularly sensitive to the Fortuna genre during the imperial period.[366]

On the Fortune of the Romans noticeably diverges from the supposedly standard two-essay format. Possibly, one essay was lost, or it is an unfinished revision of two separate essays.[367] Recent study of the treatise, however, has demonstrated that arete and Tyche receive almost equal treatment throughout *On the Fortune of the Romans*, and that the essay is an independent creation.[368]

Tyche in the historical tradition

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philosopher. According to Plutarch, Tyche stopped Alexander's arete and Alexander's life. For a summary of the two essays, see Hamilton (1969) xxiii-xxix.

363 Kajanto (1981) 548-549.

364 Conte (1994) 550-552 with bibliography.

365 Kajanto (1981) 546-548.

366 Ibid, 542ff. for a review of Fortuna in the writings of these authors.

367 Hamilton (1969) xxx, Wardman (1955), 96-107.

Historians also recognized Tyche's effect on historical events and individuals. Polybius addressed the influence of Tyche to discuss the great issue of his time, i.e., how the Romans had conquered the world in such a short time (1.4). Polybius' assessment echoes Demetrius of Phaleron's lost treatise, *Tyche*.[369] Ultimately, however, Polybius acknowledged that the success of the Romans was due to their own inherent qualities over the transient power of Tyche.[370] Instead, after Polybius, many Greek historians blamed Tyche for the Roman defeat of the Greeks. The wavering power of Tyche became a regular topic in the Greek historiographic tradition and appears in the writings of the imperial-period Greek authors Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.1-4, 2.17.3-4), Onasander (Proem 5-6), Appian (proem 11), and Dio (73.23.1-3, 5).[371]

On the Fortune of the Romans includes the Tyche topos of the historical tradition. In his introduction of the treatise, Plutarch depicts Tyche flying over Eastern empires on her way to Rome (4/317E-318A). Plutarch deviates from the standard imperial Greek historiographic tradition (which views Tyche as the negative force which put Rome in power of the world) because he favorably

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[368] Swain (1989a) passim, esp. 504, 515-516.

[369] Chapter 3, 138ff.

[370] See the synopsis of the meanings of Tyche in Polybius' writings in Walbank (1957) 16-26.

[371] Erkell (1952), Kajanto (1957, 1981), Swain (1989b) note that, in contrast, Roman scholars did not make the same lament. However, Roman historians did acknowledge the fickle power of Fortuna, e.g., Kajanto (1957), Erkell (1952) 162-173 for discussions of Fortuna in Livy, although they interpret depictions of fickle Fortuna as literary conventions only. Swain (1989b) 278-279 interprets the usage of Fortuna in Livy and Dionysius of Halikarnassus as generic. Scott (1968) 20-21, 71-106 interprets Fortuna in Tacitus as a benevolent deity. Fortuna appears as a malevolent, fickle deity in Suetonius; see Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 109, 115ff., 190, 194 for an

interprets the goddess' preferential treatment of the Romans over the Greeks (and their previous empires in the East). Plutarch's explanation of world history through the ekphrastic image of Tyche flying above many empires to Rome is a unique and creative way of presenting the role of Tyche in the historical tradition.

Tyche in the philosophical discourse

Philosophers discussed the role of Tyche in their works contemporaneously with historians addressing Tyche in the arete-Tyche topos and the historiographic tradition. In particular, Stoicism, which developed from the teachings of Zeno in the painted Stoa of the Athenian agora and was favorably adopted in Republican Rome, sought to annul the blows of fate by accepting whatever happened.[372] From the Hellenistic period and afterward, Stoics paid particular attention to the capricious power of the goddess Tyche.[373] This current of philosophy replaced the Graeco-Roman pantheon of gods with Pronoia[374] or Providentia (Providence),[375] which governed the destiny of the world.[376]

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evaluation of the Fortuna of Galba. For a discussion of Fortuna in Florus, Curtius Rufus, and other imperial Latin authors, see Kajanto (1981b) 542-557.

[372] For Stoicism: Rist (1969), Frede (1974), Long (1974), Hahm (1977), Inwood (1985).

[373] Beginning with Plato, *pronoia* was Tyche's foil in the philosophic discourse. See the discussion of *pronoia* in Martin (1982) 7-30. For a similar interpretation of Fortuna in the philosophical discourse: Seneca, *De Providentia*.

[374] Jentel (1994) 553-554.

[375] Polito (1994) 562-567, Martin (1982). The goddess Providentia was first mentioned in Latin in *Rhet. Her*. 4.32 and Cicero *inv*. 2.160. The cult first appears during the reign of Tiberius, but may be an Augustan creation. See Martin (1982) 67-139.

In *On the Fortune of the Romans*, Plutarch, like pseudo-Cebes, Dio, and Favorinus (90ff.) also acknowledged the importance of Tyche in the philosophical tradition. Although philosophers, including Platonists and Epicureans, traditionally denigrated the role of Tyche, Plutarch suggests that Tyche and arete play an important role in the philosophical interpretations of the workings of the world and the stability of Rome. In the introduction, Plutarch explains Platonic and Epicurean views of the world and integrates into these views the arete-Tyche topos (316E-317C) to explain the success of Rome.[377]

In contrast to the standard, negative image of Tyche in the text of pseudo-Cebes, Plutarch's novel treatment of Fortuna is similar to those of Favorinus and Dio, in which the goddess becomes a positive figure through her iconographical features. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the physical image of Fortuna also was transformed during the imperial period. With the addition of the globe and wheel underneath the rudder, in contrast to the preceding Greek philosophical image of the goddess tottering on the globe, Fortuna now appeared as a companion of the emperor, ensuring the stability of the oikoumene.

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[376] Martin (1982) 7-65, Griffin (1976), Liebeschuetz (1979) 207.

[377] Alluding to the Platonist theory Plutarch likens the cooperation of arete and Tyche to the combination of the elements that created the universe. In reference to Epicureanism, he substitutes the fickle nature of the goddess of Chance for the swerve of the atom and argues that arete and Tyche combined created an opportunity for Rome to grow strong. These references to Plato's *Timaeus* and Democritus are crucial to understanding Plutarch's view of arete and Tyche. For further discussion of this passage, see Forni (1989) 102-103, Swain (1989a) 505, Dillon (1997) 233-240.

Plutarch's Pro-Tyche stance in the text

On the Fortune of the Romans is pro-Tyche, i.e., Plutarch favorably interprets Tyche's intervention in history to guarantee the Roman domination over the entire world.[378] The treatment of Tyche in *On the Fortune of the Romans* represents a noticeable departure from the standard arete-Tyche topos and historiographic tradition because it does not agree with the standard Greek condemnation of the rise of the Roman empire.[379]

Although Plutarch begins the treatise by stating that both arete and Tyche are needed for Rome's success through discussions of Plato's *Timaeus* and Democritus (316E-317C), he demonstrates in many ways that he favors Tyche *over* arete. First, Plutarch assigns more prominent men to Tyche's crowd of supporters (317E–318D), [including the additional in-depth examination of the Fortuna of Julius Caesar, Octavian, Romulus, Numa, and Servius (319D–323D)] than to the crowd supporting arete (3). Second, he reviews the attributes of the goddess of Chance (317E–318D) and omits a description of Virtus and her attributes. Third, the author examines the large number and older Fortuna shrines in Rome in comparison with the fewer, younger temples dedicated to Virtus (318D–319B, 322C–323D). Fourth, Plutarch explains Fortuna's role in

[378] Brenk (1977) 146, 156-159, Swain (1989a), (1989b).
[379] See also Dion. Hal., 1-5.

protecting Rome throughout history (323E–326C), and does not mention Virtus' impact on the history of Rome.

Swain and others argue that Plutarch is more pro-Pronoia (Providence) than pro-Tyche; when Tyche abandons her fickle attributes (wings and globe) and retains her positive attribute (cornucopia), she is no longer fickle Tyche and becomes Pronoia.[380] Instead, Tyche fulfills the role of Pronoia but remains Tyche, retaining both her positive and negative attributes. The modern scholarship is prone to identify most Fortuna cults in imperial Rome only as forms of Agathe Tyche, but an uncertain Fortuna remained a prominent aspect of Fortuna, as evidenced in an examination of the cult of Fortuna.

Walbank has pointed out in his assessment of Fowler's interpretation of Tyche in Polybius' history as Pronoia that, if Polybius had meant to discuss Pronoia, he would not have used the word Tyche.[381] In *On the Fortune of the Romans*, Plutarch uses the term Pronoia once (316E), and he does so in order to replace arete, not Tyche.[382] Plutarch's use of the word Tyche turns out to be very nuanced. Tyche acts as Pronoia, or conveys the quality of Pronoia, only towards the Romans; she is not Pronoia. For other nations and the enemies of Rome, the goddess of Chance retains her "usual" traits. For example, in the treatise, Plutarch

[380] Barrow (1967) 122-130, Swain (1989a), (1989b), Dillon (1997).
[381] Walbank (1972) 63.
[382] Forni (1989) 102.

depicts her as a fickle deity when she her abandons Pompey and Mark Antony (319D–320A), and reverses Servius' fortune, from slave to king (322C–323D).

The text as an encomium of Rome in the Second Sophistic tradition

As we have seen in the preceding sections, Plutarch considers Tyche favorable toward Rome through her defense of the city and protection of her greatest champions, with extended discussions on Julius Caesar, Octavian, Numa, Servius, and Romulus. Although the treatise does not address a particular emperor, its similarity to the two speeches, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great*, which have been considered didactic speeches addressed to emperors,[383] suggests that *On the Fortune of the Romans* alludes to the Roman emperor as well. Indeed, the similarity of the treatise and Plutarch's writing career to the speeches and writing careers of the sophists suggests that Plutarch intended the text to be an encomium of Rome.

Comparable to Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* and sophist Dio of Chrysostom's *Oration on kingship*, in *On the Fortune of the Romans* the emperor emerges as an important focus. For example, through his examination of Fortuna,

[383] Hamilton (1969) xxix-xxx expresses the standard view, that the text is generic. *Contra*, see Wardman (1955) 96-107. W. W. Tarn (1939) *AJP* 60, 56, n.86 doubts that the essays are authentic. Eicke (1909) *Veterum philosophorum qualia fuerint de A. M. iudicia*, 53ff and Hirzel (1895) *Der Dialog*, 2.81, cited in Hamilton (1969) xxix sustain that the works indirectly provided models for the emperor Trajan. For a parallel example of a text used as a teaching device for an

Plutarch reveals that the reigns of Romulus, Numa, and Servius and their relationships with Fortuna took on a new dimension in Rome during the first century CE, when the city had newly returned to a monarchy. Indeed, Augustus had established political, religious, and visual links between his reign and those of Romulus, Numa, and Servius[384] and declared himself Fortuna's favorite through the construction of several monuments in Rome (see Chapters 4-5).

Throughout the text, Plutarch cites the goddess of Chance as the protagonist in world history who, through a long-term relationship with Rome, not only gave the Romans stability and success in their own affairs, but also gave a climactic calm to history itself (317A).[385] Plutarch attributes to the goddess of Chance the creation of the condition known to Romans as the *Pax Romana* (317C).[386] Roman citizens would have recognized the Fortuna-Pax combination as an Augustan creation and a symbol of the emperor's power in Rome (e.g., the association of the Ara Pacis and Ara Fortunae Reducis in Augustan Rome: Chapter 5).

As an encomium, the speech recalls Pliny's *Panegyricus*. Both rhetorical speeches assess the political situation in which the authors lived, and both justify

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emperor, see Dio Chrys., *Or. On Kingship* and the recent discussion of the text in Swain (1996) 192-206.

[384] For allusions to Numa and Romulus in the reign of Augustus see Galinsky (1996) 84, 149, 282, 316, 331, 346 (Romulus) and 84, 282, 346 (Numa) with bibliography. More recently, regarding Numa: Rehak (2001) 190-208. For Augustus' allusions to Servius Tullius' reign through the reorganization of the city, see Beard et al (1998) I.184-186.

[385] Jones (1971) 70.

[386] Frazier and Froidefond (1990) 19-26.

the *status quo*, rather than represent a manual or a statement of imperial policy.[387] The laudatory nature of Plutarch's speech and his Greek ethnicity identify his writings with those of the rhetors and sophists, who frequently delivered laudatory speeches.

Stemming from the standard rhetorical discussion on the power of arete and Tyche, the treatise *On the Fortune of the Romans* also belongs to the panegyric tradition.[388] These were speeches of praise directed at either rulers or cities. The first *panegyrikos* was Isocrates' speech in praise of Athens. Initially, Romans used the term for the same purpose, i.e., as an encomium of a city.[389] The more general laudatory speeches were called *encomia* in Greek and *laudes* or *laudationes* in Latin. Eventually, the term *panegyricus* signified praise of the individual, usually the Roman emperor. Cicero's speech in praise of Pompey in the late Republic is a precursor to the imperial panegyric.[390] In Latin literature, beginning with Pliny the Younger's speech in honor of Trajan, *Panegyricus*, the term became standard for speeches of flattery toward the emperor. A collection of such blandishments, called *XII Panegyrici Latini*, including Pliny's speech, dates as late as the rule of Constantine.

Laudes and *laudationes* existed throughout Latin literature, in such writers as Vitruvius, Horace, Vergil, Statius, and Silius Italicus. Roman domination in

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[387] Schowalter (1993) contra Fears (1981c) on the terms ideology and propaganda in Pliny's *Panegyricus*.

[388] Swain (1989a) 505 fn. 7 with bibliography.

the East as early as the second century BCE generated Greek praise for the Roman state and individual saviors, in the form of politicians and generals. Greek orators turned to the new power, Rome, following the tradition established by Isocrates, Demosthenes, and various Hellenistic authors. At first, they propitiated the Roman Senate, proconsular governors of provinces, and Roman generals.[391] Then, after the victory of Augustus at Actium, Greek orators, speaking on behalf of their cities, courted the emperor through flattery to resolve problems between neighboring cities.

In the first and second centuries CE, when the Mediterranean world experienced the *pax Romana* under the control of the emperor and his legions, the development of the second Sophistic provides most of our knowledge of such laudatory speeches. The sophist Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* accounts for the definition and activities of sophists. They were speakers trained in rhetoric and oratory, who traveled from city to city to convince cities or important individuals of specific arguments, on behalf of someone.[392] The most famous sophists were Lucian, Aelius Aristides, and Dio Chrysostom. Their writings represent a literary and historical development that mark the revitalization of

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389 Cicero, *Orator*, 37, Quintilian 10.4.40.
390 See Fears (1981c) 797-804 for a discussion of *De lege Manilia*.
391 Beard et al. (1998) I.140-149, Price (1984) 42-47.
392 Bowersock (1969) 1-16.

Greek culture.[393] Active during the first and second centuries CE, many sophists were contemporaries, even friends, of Plutarch the rhetor and philosopher.

Plutarch's speech *On the Fortune of the Romans* resembles the work of sophists Aristides and Dio Chrysostom. The former wrote a treatise in praise of Rome, and the latter wrote a collection of speeches, regarding disputes between cities in the East and the concord (Homonoia) which he tried to instill between them.[394] Another similarity between Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans* and the laudatory speeches was Tyche's prominence in the encomium of the sophist Menander Rhetor.[395]

The rhetor, philosopher, and sophist were the three most prominent speaking professions in the Graeco-Roman world.[396] Much of the distinction among the professions lay in their disassociation from one another. Rhetors taught oratory. Philosophers taught their interpretation of life to disciples, usually in a formal setting. The sophist instructed in order to convince someone of something. Sophists spoke to earn money and gain a reputation for themselves, their birthplaces, or the cities where they lived. They were often involved in disputes, speaking on one city's behalf to another. Aristides defines them narrowly as those who write or speak *logoi*, participate in festival assemblies,

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[393] Swain (1996).
[394] Aristides: Oliver (1953). Dio of Chrysostom: Jones (1978) 83-94.
[395] Jones (1971) 69, fn. 10-11.
[396] This paragraph follows closely the work of Bowersock (1969) 11-13, Jones (1971) 37-38, Jones (1978) 9.

honor gods, speak to and for cities, settle disputes, and educate the young (*Oration on the Four*, 46).

Plutarch's career included interactions with and participation in all three professions. Unlike the sophists, Plutarch did not travel around giving speeches (with the possible exception of *On the Fortune of the Romans* and *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander the Great*, possibly written and presented during his brief career as a rhetorician). There are several similarities between the career of Plutarch and the sophists. All of them came from educated, wealthy families of status in the Greek East. If successful as speakers, sophists could raise their own status, that of their family and city. Many made their way to Rome, became intimately involved with *equites* (knights) and senators, and gained citizenship. Some became senators, and a few became dear friends of the emperor.[397] Likewise, Plutarch found his way to Rome (possibly as early as 60-65, though no later than the reign of Domitian), gained the citizenship through his patron Mestrius, and met emperors from the Flavians through Hadrian, acquiring many other titles through his service to Rome.[398]

The intended audience of the speech: Romans in Rome?

[397] Bowersock (1969), Jones (1978), Jones (1986).

Plutarch's intended audience generally is considered Greek Athenian. Athens is a probable location since the treatise is often considered among one of Plutarch's earliest, rhetorical works (as previously discussed), exemplary of his initial studies in Athens before he converted to philosophy (which he also studied in Athens). In its present state of preservation, however, it probably was not delivered.[399] Plutarch's pro-Tyche, pro-Rome interpretation, in contrast to the usual Greek interpretation of Tyche in the historiographic tradition, has puzzled modern studies.[400] For example, Jones does not consider the essay a serious account, or extremely favorable to the Roman power.[401] He interprets the treatise as a rhetorical exercise produced for an Athenian audience. Scott evaluates the essay as partially pro-Tyche, i.e., a compromise between the contrasting Greek and Roman historical interpretations of Roman success.[402] Swain believes that Plutarch praises Tyche and Rome but moderates his praise of Tyche and Rome out of his sensitivity to his supposed Greek audience. He argues that since, according to the Greek historiographic tradition, Tyche alone was responsible for

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398 Mestrius, as a patron of Plutarch, acquired Roman citizenship for Plutarch. For more on relationship of Plutarch and Mestrius, see Jones (1971) 48-51. Under Hadrian's rule, Plutarch acquired the title of pro-consul of Greece.

399 Swain (1989a) 505-506, who considers the text an encomium of Rome, argues against any presentation of the treatise at all, due to the reduplication of passage 5/318D-F at 10/322C-E. Although it is unclear whether or not Plutarch was responsible for this reduplication, it is certain that in its preserved state the treatise is unrevised and unfinished.

400 Ziegler (1964 reprint), Flacelière (1966) 367-375, Barrow (1967) 122-130, Scott (1968) 20 fn. 37, Jones (1971) 67-71, Swain (1989a) 504-516, Swain (1996) 159-161.

401 Jones (1971) 67-71.

402 Scott (1968) 20 fn. 37.

the demise of Greek power and the rise of Rome; Plutarch would not have wanted to upset the Greeks that listened to him speak.[403]

Much evidence, instead, suggest that it was written for a Roman audience, in Rome itself. Jones, however, argues against the location in Rome because it does not include explicit hints or references that acknowledge Plutarch is in Rome. Jones' main argument is that Plutarch's treatise does not identify the speaker's setting as Aristides' remarks in *Oration* 26, which exactly locate the orator in Rome.[404]

Plutarch's use of the Greek language, however, does not necessitate a Greek audience. On the contrary, to a well-educated Roman audience, the Greek topoi discussed in the Greek text were familiar. Sophists such as Aelius Aristides regularly gave talks in Greek to a Roman audience during the imperial period. Wealthy Romans were educated in Greek as well as Latin as early as the early third century BCE.[405] By the time of the late Republic, many Romans routinely sent their children to Greece for an education. Although Nero was the first Roman emperor who styled himself a hellenophile, the administration and tastes of Roman rulers had been Hellenized long before.[406]

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[403] Swain (1989a) 516-517.
[404] Jones (1971) 68. For *contra*, see in 321A, the phrase, "such beautiful kingly palaces," indicates that Plutarch refers to structures he saw before his eyes as he spoke in Rome; Forni (1989) 10, citing Palm (1959) 36, Flacelière (1966) 373.
[405] Gruen (1992) 229-252.
[406] Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 174-197.

Plutarch proves to be sensitive to the topography of Rome (i.e., the Palatine) and the history of frequently obscure cults of Fortuna. Furthermore, Plutarch's interpretation of the *Pax Romana* as a condition created by Fortuna was another Roman idea, propagated under the rule of Augustus (Chapter 5). In addition, Plutarch promotes the association between Venus and Fortuna, which was a Roman pairing from the time of the late Republican dynasts, perpetuated by the emperor (Chapter 3, 185ff.).[407] Swain has argued that Plutarch was careful not to offend the supposed Greek audience by downplaying the confrontation between Rome and Greece, but Plutarch blatantly mentions several instances of Roman domination over Greece, another theme was that would have been more appreciated by a Roman audience than a Greek one. These include the metaphor of the goddess of Chance flying over various Greek kingdoms, i.e., those of Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria, of the Antigonid, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid dynasties (317F), the description of Aemilius Paullus' defeat (bloodless on the Roman side) of the Greeks (318B), Sulla's victories over the Greeks (318D), the Roman

[407] Venus, as ancestress of the Romans, was associated with the origins of the city from the Republican period: Galinsky (1969) 64, 185-186, 221. In his treatise, Plutarch attributes to Fortuna the role of protector over Romulus and the city from its foundation. In describing Fortuna's role as protectress of the city, Plutarch depicts Fortuna's arrival on the Palatine hill as the residence of choice, where she gave up her fickle implements. He compares this scene to an image of Aphrodite, who replaced her own peaceful adornments with those of war when fighting for the Spartans (317F). He also associates Venus with Fortuna in the Sulla passage (318C-D). In an inscription, writes Plutarch, Sulla described himself as Epaphroditus. The author follows this passage with a quote from Menander, who wrote that the goddess of Chance has a greater share in Aphrodite than night (318D).

defeats of Philip V and Antiochus III (323F), and the death of Alexander (13/326A-C).[408]

Pliny the Elder on Fortuna

On the Fortune of the Romans records Plutarch's praise of Fortuna and Rome. In contrast, Pliny the Elder, a contemporary of Plutarch writing in Rome under the Flavians, provides a brief diatribe against Fortuna and her cult in his multi-volume treatise *Naturalis Historia*. Whereas the Greek notes Tyche's abandonment of her negative iconography in favor of the Romans, the Roman laments the fact that Fortuna, so popular with the masses, is an irresistible, fickle force which one tries to reconcile without avail.

Plutarch's Tyche and Pliny's Fortuna are one and the same goddess. Each author highlights different aspects of a single, multifaceted goddess according to his own personal agenda. Plutarch's treatise and Pliny's passage present a consistent view of the goddess in first century CE Rome, whose polysemous personalities would have been easily recognized by many Greeks and Romans.

Pliny the Elder's comments about Fortuna are placed within his discourse of the different religious systems in effect in his contemporary Rome, under the Flavian dynasty. His treatment of Fortuna, however, is similar to a hymn or,

[408] Swain (1989a) 514-516 does not evaluate the Alexander passage as pro-Greek. Instead, the

almost, lamented complaint (akin to Pacuvius' assessment of Fortuna),[409] than a review of religious practice:

> Toto quippe mundo et omnibus locis omnibusque horis omnium vocibus Fortuna sola invocatur ac nominatur, una accusatur, una agitur rea, una cogitatur, sola laudatur, sola arguitur et cum conviciis colitur: volubilis, a plerisque vero a caeca existimata, vaga, inconstans, incerta, varia, indignorumque fautrix. Huic omnia expensa, huic omnia feruntur accepta, et in tota ratione mortalium sola utramque paginam facit. Adeoque obnoxii sumus sorti, ut sors ipsa pro deo sit, qua deus probatur incertus. Pars alia et hanc pellit astroque suo eventus adsignat et nascendi legibus. (*N.H.* 2.22)[410]

Ferguson asserts that Pliny is simply describing Tyche, not Fortuna. Had Pliny intended to discuss Roman Fortuna he would have addressed her with one of her well-known epithets.[411] Ferguson and others adhere to the stereotypical assessment of the Greek and Roman views of the goddess of Chance that exists in modern scholarship. According to this standard interpretation, as we have seen on several occasions, the Greeks considered Tyche an ambivalent, often malicious, goddess, whereas the Romans considered Fortuna as a benevolent goddess, Bona Fortuna, similar to the Greek Agathe Tyche. An examination of Plutarch's *On the*

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last line of the treatise, a quote from Homer, *Od*., 9.49-50, suggests the opposite.

[409] Fn. 258.

[410] "In the entire world and in all places at all times by the voices of all Fortuna alone is invoked and named, she alone is accused, she alone is impeached, and she alone is considered, she alone is praised, she alone is rebuked and regarded with insults. She is considered volatile and indeed generally blind, vague, roving, fickle, uncertain patroness of the unworthy. To her are credited all things spent, to her all things received are credited. She alone fills each page in the entire account of human beings. We are so dependent on chance that she herself is chance in place of god, by her god is considered uncertain. Another group banishes her and assigns events to their own star and the laws of birth."

[411] Ferguson (1970) 79.

Fortune of the Romans, however, demonstrates that Tyche and Fortuna were one and the same in Rome, becoming a figure distinct from though akin to Providentia, in favor of the city and the emperor, despite the goddess' ever-present uncertain characteristics.

Pliny negatively comments on Fortuna's cult, which enjoyed an unrivaled popularity at the end of the first century CE. At that time, Vespasian noticeably utilized the image of Fortuna Redux to establish his own presence in Rome; under his rule, the coinage (and probably cult images) of Fortuna received the globe under Fortuna's rudder. In addition, Vespasian and Domitian continued the imperial adoration of the oracle of Fortuna at Praeneste, following the precedents of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius, and Gaius and Nero's devotion to the Fortunae at Antium (chapter 5, 352ff.).

Pliny the Elder records a pseudo-hymn to Fortuna, which resonates Roman society's feeling towards her cult. Such feelings were even more prevalent in the second century CE, which witnessed the addition of the wheel of Fortuna on state monuments and coinage. Pliny addresses no single epithet of Fortuna but rather defines her as a singular deity with omnipotent power in Roman society, acknowledging the popularity of Fortuna within every social and economic level in Roman culture. The concept and iconography of the goddess continued to accrue new iconography (e.g., globe and/ or wheel under the rudder)

and meaning as those who utilized her image her faced new political and social situations under the rule of the Roman emperor.

As the previous sections on the cult and art of Fortuna have elucidated, an examination of literary studies of Fortuna show that singular studies of Fortuna are limited and the term "Tyche-Fortuna" is unnecessary. In this last section, we have seen that the ancient sources themselves describe the importance of the visual iconography of Tyche and Fortuna, demonstrating the inherent shortcomings of separate studies of Fortuna in cult, art, and textual categories. The power of the goddess of Chance was reflected as much in artistic depictions as descriptive epithets and *topoi*.

Chapter 3: Fortuna and the late Republican dynasts: background and assessment

A close examination of the forces that led to Fortuna's prominence during the late Republic depicts a side of the goddess that constantly changed due to political and social exigencies. Simultaneously these forces exerted an image of Fortuna as a powerful and constant figure next to the late Republican general, for better and for worse.

This chapter first addresses two important cult sites of Tyche in the Greek East (Alexandria) and the Greek West (Syracuse) so as to better explain the transformation of Fortuna from her national identity during the Republic to her role as the personal patroness of Late Republican generals. This role, and its multivalent associations, would be critical to the formulation of the new Fortuna cults, Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, during the reigns of Augustus and his successors.

THE TYCHAION OF ALEXANDRIA

The rhetorical discourse of arete and Tyche (which lead to victory) was also expressed *visually* in the Greek East, in the central statuary group in the

Hellenistic Tychaion of Alexandria.[412] First, I will describe the structure, then present the issues regarding the dating of the building. Pseudo-Libanios [Nikolaos Rhetor (ca. 400 CE)] provides the only description of the building and its statuary. "The place is laid out as follows. It is completely embellished from floor to ceiling; the décor is subdivided into semi-circular niches abutted by columns of all varieties. These niches are intended to display statues, and it is possible to count them by the statues they contain; between the statues project the columns… In the middle are doors leading to the precinct of the Muses (Mouseion)," with bronze statues of the most prominent Ptolemies.[413]

The author describes the dodekatheoi[414] (the twelve Olympian gods) divided into two groups. One group of six, arranged in a semicircle, frames Ptolemy Soter, holding a cornucopia. The other group encircles Charis (Grace). In the center of the building stands Tyche. She is crowned by two Victories. She, in turn, crowns Ge (Earth), who crowns Alexander.[415] In the center of the floor are bronze stelai, engraved with the laws of the city. Other decorations include a laurel crown sculpted in marble and two philosophers, one philosophizing atop a

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412 Pseudo-Libanios (Nikolaos Rhetor) *Progymnasmata* 25, as discussed in Stewart (1993) 243-252; Long, (1987), 84-85, 212-213, 307-308. Fears (1981b) 759-764 for discussion of Nike, Tyche/ Eutyche, and Arete.

413 Text and Translation: Stewart (1993) 383-384.

414 Long (1987) 212-213, Berger-Doer, (1986) III.646- 658.

415 The central composition is T-shaped in plan: Stewart (1993) 244. The established hierarchy between Tyche and ruler (i.e., Tyche as kingmaker) is also present in the Augustan Gemma Augustea, where Fortuna (or Oikoumene) wearing a mural crown crowns a seated Augustus with a laurel crown: Strong (1988) 75-76, 84, 94, 109, Kleiner (1992) 69-72, Kuttner (1995a) 90. See Chapter 4.

throne, another, naked, holding a globe in his left hand, extending his right hand outward.

The allegorical significance of the central statuary group expresses the following. The two Victories crown Tyche, indicating that she is in charge of victory. Tyche crowning Ge (the world) is the Good Fortune that watches over the world, thereby bestowing upon Alexander his supremacy.[416] The proximity of the stelai with the laws of the city to the statuary further underlines the hierarchical formulation from Tyche to ruler to citizen. Victory and Tyche guarantee the success of Alexander and his successor Ptolemy Soter, also depicted in the entourage of the Olympian gods, holding a cornucopia, the symbol of abundance.

The fact that Ptolemy holds the cornucopia, Tyche's standard attribute, and not the goddess, is more than a matter of logistics (i.e., Tyche's hands are already full, extending a crown to Alexander). Instead, Ptolemy's possession of the cornucopia demonstrates his special bond with Tyche. Holding the cornucopia he himself has become a sort of Tyche, providing for his kingdom all of the necessities of life, including the most important commodity for the average Greek or Egyptian in Egypt: grain, represented by his horn of plenty.[417]

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[416] Stewart (1993) 245.

[417] The conceptualization of Tyche as guarantor of the fruits of life has been discussed in Chapter 1, regarding the creation of the Tyche of Antioch (which holds stalks of grain), contemporaneous with the creation of the Ptolemaic Tychaion, as well as the early role of Tyche in shipping, harbors, and syncretistic relationship with Isis, especially Isis Pelagia in Hellenistic Alexandria. See Chapter 1, 22ff. and below.

Several reasons have been adduced for an imperial date of the sculptural group and the temple. Fraser has postulated that the structure was Roman imperial: a rotunda with apses and interior columns.[418] In addition, Hebert has found suitable comparisons between the Tychaion and Roman imperial structures in Asia Minor.[419] The Tychaion was located in the Ptolemaic palace area, Bruchion, next to the Mouseion. Since much of the palace burned down during civil riots in the reign of Aurelian (270-275 CE), according to Ammianus Marcellinus (22.16.15), and the sole source for the building is the fourth century CE, over a century after the fire, Long has argued that the temple was, in fact, a Roman imperial construction.[420] The last reference to the Tychaion occurs in the fourth century CE and was not converted to secular use before 391 CE (Amm. Marc. 22.11.7).

In contrast to these hypotheses, the location of the structure in Alexandria and the nature of the visual program are coherent with artistic trends during the Hellenistic period. Stewart (who argues that the plan of the building was square),[421] recently has pointed out the existence of third century BCE sculptural ensembles and paintings that are strikingly similar to the sculptural group in the Tychaion.[422] The sculptural group of the Tychaion presents an evocative portrait

[418] Fraser (1972) II, 22, fn. 47.
[419] Hebert (1983) 24-25.
[420] Long (1987) 212-213.
[421] Stewart (1993) 244.
[422] Stewart (1993) 244, including Apelles' picture of calumny and Ptolemy IV Philopator's sculptural group of Homer and the cities of Greece in the Homereion in Alexandria.

of the period immediately after the death of Alexander and a visual allegory similar to the Hellenistic rhetorical discourse, such as Plutarch's *On the Virtue and Fortune of Alexander*.[423]

Alexander the Great himself laid out the central area of Alexandria and its principal temples in 331 BCE, according to Arrian (3.1.5).[424] When Ptolemy Soter founded the Library of Alexandria and the Mouseion (literally a center dedicated to the service of the muses, and in Alexandria, a scholarly center),[425] he invited, without success, Theophrastus, who was Aristotle's successor at the Lyceum. Theophrastus (371/0- 288/5 BCE), instead, recommended his former student, Demetrius of Phaleron, who was in exile.[426] This Peripatetic philosopher transferred to Alexandria, where he wrote his treatise, *On Fortune*,[427] in 307 BCE and eventually became a confidant of the Ptolemaic court. He was intimately associated with the construction of the Library of Alexandria and the Mouseion, in proximity to the Tychaion.[428] The coincidence of the physical attachment of these two structures to one another, Demetrius' known involvement with the library and Mouseion, and his famous treatise *On Fortune*, in defense of the Ptolemaic dynasty over that of the Seleucids, suggests that he, too, was involved

[423] Stewart (1993) 245.
[424] For a description of the urban layout and principal structures in Alexandria: Strabo 17.1.8-10.
[425] Green (1993) 85-91.
[426] Ael. *V.H.* 3.17.
[427] Polyb. 29.21.3-6.
[428] Green (1993) 85-91, Stewart (1993) 245.

in the construction of the Tychaion and its apparently Hellenistic sculptural program. [429]

All of the elements associated with the Tychaion– the library, museum, Alexander and his successor, Ptolemy Soter– had important repercussions during the Hellenistic period, as well as the mid-late Roman Republic. The Library[430] of Alexandria was imitated, though never matched, in Pergamon, Rhodes, and Cos, in the Greek East. In Rome, Roman generals and statesmen built up their own, private collections, either through conquest (e.g., L. Aemilius Paullus acquired the Macedonian royal library, Sulla possessed Aristotle's books after the sack of Athens), or purchase (e.g., Cicero, Varro, Faustus Cornelius Sulla, M. Licinius, C. Asinius Pollio, who founded the first public library in Rome).

The Museum[431] of Alexandria was also imitated in Athens, Pergamon, Antioch, Rhodes, Antioch, and Rome [e.g., Catulus' Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Lucullus' Temple of Felicitas, and the Porticus Metelli, housed the three best collections of Greek art in late Republican Rome (Cic., *Verr*. 2.4.26)].

The physical presence of Tyche and the Muses must have exerted a considerable influence on the resident philosophers and scholars. For example, the development of cosmology (which favored the role of Tyche) in the Mouseion facilities under the Ptolemies was important for Hellenistic philosophies,

[429] Stewart (1993) 245.
[430] El-Abbadi (1992).
[431] Blanck (1992).

including Stoicism. Indeed, the Tychaion itself (containing two statues of philosophers) depicted a hierarchical representation of the cosmic order on earth: Victory, Tyche, Alexander, Earth, and Ptolemy.

Just as the Roman dynasts imitated the libraries and Museum of Alexandria and adopted the prominent features of Alexander through *imitatio Alexandri* in Rome,[432] Julius Caesar and Augustus also may have mimicked the Ptolemaic Tychaion, to some extent, in Rome (Chapter 4).

Alexandria, in particular, and the palace that was located in the proximity of the Tychaion, was visited by Julius Caesar and Octavian.[433] The ancient evidence suggests that both Roman dynasts viewed the Tychaion during their stays in Alexandria. Julius Caesar's dedication of a Nemeseion[434] to Pompey, who had been killed in the city before his arrival, suggests a clever response to the Tychaion (given the affiliation between the two goddesses),[435] which honored Alexander the Great as the principal protagonist under Tyche's protection. Again, there is an indirect reference to the Tychaion, when Lucan has Caesar dedicate a Tychaion, rather than the historical Nemeseion, to the deceased Pompey.[436]

Octavian, who was more interested in visiting Alexander's body than those of the Ptolemies (Suet. *Aug*. 18), also may have been interested in the

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[432] See below, fn. 448.
[433] Caes. *Bell. Civ*. 3, Suet. *Aug*. 18.
[434] Appian, *Bell.Civ*. 2.90
[435] Edwards (1990), Karanastassi (1992) 733-762 (180-182), Rausa (1992) 762-770 (264-265), Lichocka (1998) 619-634, Chapter 2, 84ff., Chapter 5, 329ff.

Tychaion, which exalted Alexander the Great through the central sculptural composition. Indeed, the sculptural program of the Tychaion, according to a recent study,[437] may have been reflected in Rome, possibly the Pantheon itself. Nikolaos remarks that the Tychaion, which exhibited special relationships between Tyche and Alexander the Great and his successor Ptolemy, was dedicated to many gods, but as a whole was named after Tyche (*Prog*. 25.2). The Pantheon, too, was dedicated to many Roman gods (hence its name)[438] and displayed special relationships between Julius Caesar and Octavian, his successor, parallel to the visual program in the Tychaion. We will further explore the Tychaion's effect on Roman topography and architecture as part of the Alexandrian cultural influence on Rome during the end of the first century BCE in Chapter 4.

FURTHER HELLENISTIC BACKGROUND AND THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

As early as the fourth century BCE, prominent individuals in the Greek East were continually identified as possessors of special qualities, first arete and then, tyche/ eutychia. The general Lysander in the fourth century BCE is the first

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436 Lucan, *Bell. Civ*. 8.712-872.
437 *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pantheon (fase pre-adriana)," V.280-283.
438 Dio 53.27.2-3. See the discussion in *LTUR* (1999) Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," IV.54-61 (although he identifies the Pantheon as a Temple of Mars).

individual identified as such.[439] Similar examples occur also in the Greek West, in Syracuse, where Dion and Timoleon received extraordinary honors.[440]

The rise of Philip of Macedon marks the true appearance of the powerful individual in the Greek East and the decline of the city state.[441] In response, the fourth century Athenian orators, Demosthenes (384-322 BCE)[442] and Isocrates (436-338 BCE) introduced new ideas about the tyche of the individual. Demosthenes did so through a series of speeches, the *Philippics*, against Philip of Macedon. In contrast, his contemporary, Isocrates, promoted Philip as the Athenians' savior against Persia (*Philippus* in 346 BCE).

Isocrates also introduced the topos of arete and Tyche (or Eutyche, the positivist interpretation of Tyche) in the fourth century BCE, through his *Panegyric* IV.91 (380 BCE), parallel to the contemporary discourses on the individual's personal tyche by Demosthenes (e.g., 18.252-266). The juxtaposition of Tyche and arete became a common theme in literature and politics during the Hellenistic period, accompanied by the growing importance of Tyche and her cult.[443] In the Hellenistic rhetorical discourse the best extant works of this *topos* are the imperial-period treatises by Plutarch, *On the Arete and Tyche Alexander* and the *On the Fortune of the Romans*, as discussed in chapter 2. In these

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[439] Duris 76 FgrHist. Ed. Jacoby II A p. 154 frg. 71= Plu. *Lys.* 18. Fears (1981b) 758-759, Price (1984) 26.
[440] For Dion: Plutarch, *Dion* 46.1. For Timoleon, see below.
[441] Price (1984) 26-29. For historical background of Philip: Bucklet (1989).
[442] Sealey (1993).
[443] Pollitt (1986) 1-4, Walbank (1957) 16-26 (1972) 58-65.

treatises, Arete (Virtus), Tyche (Fortuna), Nike (Victoria),[444] and Eutyche (Felicitas) are considered important qualities of the successful individual, whether statesman, general, or monarch. The Romans adopted the same rhetoric in Roman politics,[445] clear examples of which are often found in Cicero's speeches.[446]

Whereas no known cult was dedicated to Philip, his son, Alexander the Great received cults dedicated to him during his lifetime.[447] This would have lasting impact on the Diadochoi (the successors),[448] Roman generals,[449] and Augustus and his successors,[450] especially in the form of *imitatio Alexandri*.[451]

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444 For the importance of Victoria in the Roman world, see Fears (1981b), Hölscher (1967), R. Volkommer (1997) VIII. 237-269.

445 Fears (1981b) passim.

446 E.g., Cic., *De leg. Man*., Fears (1981b) 746-747.

447 Hyperides, *Or. Fun*. 21c, Dem. 31-2, Dinarchus, *c. Dem*. 1.94, Timaeus, *FGH* 566 f.155. See Price (1984) 26. Stewart (1993), 9-41, 42-70 (image and text); 78-86 (as the new Achilles); 86-95 (as king); 95-102 (as god). See the Philippeion, Chapter 4, 225ff.

448 Michel (1967). For art and architecture: Stewart (1990): 186-196 (Alexander), 201-204 (Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Alexandria), 205-208, 209-214 (Pergamon), 228-233 (late Republican Rome to Augustus). General background: Rose (1997): 4-7 (Hellenistic), 7-10 (late Republic and early empire), 11-21 (Augustus and the establishment of the dynasty); Smith (1988): 9-14 (Media), 15-31 (functions of royal statues), 32-45 (statue types, attributes), 46-53 (royal image and kingship theory), 57-69 (Alexander and the diadochs), 86-98 (Ptolemies and Egypt), 99-106 (late Hellenistic period), 109-114 (the king and city to the second century), 115-124 (late Hellenistic and Parthian kings); Stewart (1993): 229-262 (Egypt), 263-289 (Macedonia and Greece), 307-311 (cities of Asia), 312-324 (Antigonus, Demetrius, Seleucus, and Lysimachus); Smith (1988): 19-32 (Alexander and successors), 155-180 (Attalids), 205-222 (Ptolemies), 223-237 (Seleucids), 238-254 (Macedonia and Greece). Pollitt (1986) 19-46 (royal iconography), 79-110 (Pergamon), 250-264 (Alexandria), 271-283 (ruler cult and royal patronage).

449 Stewart (1993): 125-134 (Romans and their friends),128-130 (Republican dynasts and Hellenistic kings), 135-143 (Pompey, Augustus, and kings under empire).

450 Yavetz (1984), Edler (1990) 71-122, Meier (1990) 54-70, Pollini (1990) 334-363, bibliography in 335 fn. 1.

451 Fn. 448, Smith (1988) passim.

The Greek city states and citizens of newly-formed Hellenistic kingdoms came to terms with the new kind of power wielded by both Alexander and his successors, awarding them isotheoi timai "godlike honors."[452] In particular, Ptolemy who built a Tychaion (see above) and Seleucus (who commissioned a statue of Tyche of Antioch statue, as discussed in Chapter 1) were described in such terms through military victories, historical accounts, coinage, sculpture, paintings.[453] The Attalids tapped into the same discourse to establish their own dynasty in Pergamon after their victory over the Gauls.[454]

By the second century BCE, the historian Polybius (ca. 200– ca. 118 BCE) provided in his evaluation of Scipio Africanus (10.2-5) the epitome of the examination of remarkable individuals for future generations.[455] In this study, Polybius considered both the arete and tyche of Scipio, rejecting other historians' assertions that Tyche had a more decisive role than Arete (10.2). In a parallel development, the Hellenistic idea of the Tyche of the individual was introduced in Rome in the writings of Ennius[456] and also became part of the standard

[452] Price (1984) 25-52.
[453] Fn. 448, Fears (1981b) 764-773, fn. 489.
[454] The Attalid sculptural program of victory: Pollitt (1986) 79-110, Hansen (1971) passim, Stewart (1990) 205-214, Smith (1988)155-180, Ridgway (2000) 19-102, de Grummond and Ridgway (eds.) (2000) passim.
[455] Polybius 10.2-5. See Fears (1981b) 760. The writings of Polybius are part of the standard rhetoric of the day, understood by his Roman peers, eventually adopted into the vocabulary of the Romans. However, this is not to say that he created *the* model for later generals of the end of the Republic. Still, note Livy 29.26.5 for Scipio and Livy 29.20 (see Kajanto [1957] 71-72, 86-87). Scullard (1970) esp. 20-23, Erkell (43-128), Beard, North, Price (1998) 86.
[456] Ennius 172 (Vahlen).

iconographical language associated with some of Republican Rome's great generals, including Scipio Africanus.

In this discourse, Romans identified the importance of Virtus, Felicitas, and Fortuna to obtain Victoria; they understood that Felicitas was dependent on, or pre-conditioned by, the presence of Fortuna, whereas Fortuna existed independently.[457] The popularity of Fortuna in the second century was echoed by the slightly later cult of Felicitas;[458] both Fortuna and Felicitas remained key protagonists in the religio-political context of Rome (see below). Given the richness of its significance culturally, religiously, and philosophically, Fortuna was ultimately destined to become a more important figure than Felicitas, with more meaning in the imperial period.[459]

The first century BCE marks the true replacement of the Hellenistic monarch with the late Republican dynasts: Marius, Catulus, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Octavian.[460] Finally, under Augustus, with the establishment of the principate, the cults of the Roman emperor become established both in the East and West.[461] The Tychaion of Alexandria was of

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[457] Cicero, *Leg. Man*. 30-60. Augustine 4.18ff. Erkell (1952) 43ff. Weinstock (1971) 113.

[458] *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Felicitas, aedes," II.244-245, Richardson (1992) 150, Platner and Ashby (1965) 207.

[459] Fears (1981c) 867.

[460] The development of these late Republican generals is well known and amply documented, e.g., fn. 449-450, Champeaux (1987) 215ff (Sulla), 236ff (Pompey), 259ff (Julius Caesar), Beard et al (1998) I.140-149. Catulus and Lucullus generally receive a cursory description. For a discussion of all these generals with Fortuna see below.

[461] Price (1984) for the imperial cult in the East, Fishwick (1987) for the imperial cult in the West, and a summary of the imperial cult under Augustus (in the East and West) in Galinsky

great influence in Caesarian and Augustan Rome (discussed in Chapter 4). Another important factor was to be found in the Greek West, namely, the city of Syracuse, providing the Romans with an even more immediate symbol of the strong bond between the Greek monarch and the cult of Tyche.

WESTERN GREEK INFLUENCE: TIMOLEON AND THE TYCHAION OF SYRACUSE

Given its geographic location and political relationship with Rome, an even more immediate example of the role of Tyche in the security and good fortune of the Hellenistic monarch is found not in the Greek East but in a city in Sicily: Syracuse.[462]

Pindar is the earliest to assign to Tyche the role of "pherepolis," supporter of the city [Pindar, frag. 39 (Snell)]. It was the same Tyche who watched over Syracuse, ruled by the tyrant Gelon, during the battle against the Carthaginians at Himera (480BCE), immortalized in Pindar's Twelfth *Olympian Ode* (472 BCE).

Parallel to Lysander's honors in the fourth century BCE are the honors of Dion (408-354 BCE) and the self-appointed honors of Timoleon from Corinth. Timoleon arrived in Sicily in 345 BCE, in response to the Syracusans' appeal for

(1996) 312-331. For the imperial cult in the Roman world, see the recent monograph Small, ed. (1996).

help against the tyrant Dionysius II. After he had liberated Syracuse from dictators and defeated the Carthaginians, his honors and achievements were proclaimed by his "publicist," Timaeus (356-260 BCE).[463] This historian presented Timoleon as a savior favored by the gods; Timoleon himself created a cult to Random Fortune (Tyche Automatia) in his home. This action would have been very similar the myth of Servius Tullius in the company of Fortuna, and therefore very familiar to a Roman audience.

The Temple of Tyche in Syracuse was possibly the most important and venerable temple in the city, giving its name, Tychaion, to one of the four quarters of the city.[464] More so than Tyche temples in cities in the Greek East, this temple was of central importance of the city's identity.[465] This was a venerable cult, although the original date and exact location of the temple in the city are uncertain, dating at least as early as the fourth century BCE, though generally dated to the fifth century.[466] Cicero (*In Verrem*, 2.4.119) records the temple's grove, and Diodorus (2.68.1) mentions the grove within a description of some

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462 Wescoat (1989). Hieron II: Pollitt (1986) 281, Scullard (1989) 537-563. Roman period: Wilson (1988) 111-123, (1990); Briscoe (1989) 44-80; Rawson (1989) 422-476; Galinsky (1969) 63-102, 169-190.

463 Plu. *Tim*., 36; Timaeus is generally considered Plutarch's source. See Fears (1981b) 762 fn. 133 for bibliography. Timaeus was heavily criticized in Polyb. 12.23.4-7.

464 Cic., Verr. 2.4.119*: Tertia est urbs quae quod in ea parte Fortunae fanum antiquum fuit, Tycha nominata est.*

465 See discussion of the universality of Fortuna and Tyche in the Graeco-Roman world in Chapter 1, 37ff., Chapter 2, 54ff.

466 E.g., Coarelli, Torelli (1983) 226.

events that took place in the fifth century. Neither source, however, definitively proves that the Tychaion was constructed before the fourth century.[467]

In the third century, Hieron II became a strong ally to Rome from 263-215 BCE. For example, he supplied grain to Roman troops and civilians on a number of occasions during his alliance with Rome, especially in the early Second Punic War (Livy 21.50.9-10, 23.21.5).[468] After the Roman defeat at Trasimene, he immediately sent to Rome a gilded statue of Victory, grain, archers, and other supplies (Livy 22.37, 23.38.13).

Hieron II also influenced Rome with his high culture and extravagant taste, even more so than the Hellenistic kingdoms in the East, given its proximity to Rome.[469] Indeed, in the third century BCE, Syracuse was the representative, par excellence, of High Greek culture, long before Marcellus sacked the city in 211 BCE[470] and Syracuse became the capital of the Roman province of Sicily.

After Hieron II's death, his successor, Hieronymus, (who, unfortunately for the history of Syracuse, allied himself with Carthage), coined the first representation of the cult statue of Tyche in Syracuse in 212 BCE.[471] Notwithstanding the late date of the coin in respect to the construction of the temple, it appears that this cult statue exerted a remarkable influence on Roman

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[467] Fullerton (1990) 85-86, fn. 3.
[468] Garnsey (1988) 183-186.
[469] E.g., the ship of Hieron II, Athen. 5.207Cff., which rivaled that of the Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt, Athen. 5.204E. See Pollitt (1992) 38-40. For Greek Hellenistic and Roman spectacles, see Kuttner (1999b) 97-124.
[470] Plunder from Syracuse: Plu., *Marcell*, 21, Livy 25.40.1-3, Livy 34.4.1-4, Pollitt (1992) 32-33.

depictions of Fortuna, rather than far–off examples from the Greek East.[472] Indeed, this cult statue would have been the closest Greek statue of Tyche for Romans to imitate, followed by the arrival of Greek statuary to Rome (e.g., Pliny *N.H.* 36.20). Therefore, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is probable that the first full-figured Fortuna, with rudder, that appears on Late Republican coinage (i.e., the coin of P. Sepullius Macer, 44 BCE), was modeled after the most famous statue of Tyche for the Romans, as opposed to Tyche representations from the Greek East.

THE EARLY RISE OF THE INDIVIDUAL[473] AND THE ROLE OF FORTUNA IN ROME

Special relationships between the gods and men developed into the cult of the exceptional individual in the Greek East and West. Alexander the Great was such a dynamic leader (and successful general) that he provided a lasting model, first for his successors, then for Roman officials in the East, and finally the late Republican generals and Roman emperors.

In Rome, as progressively more power and arms concentrated in the hands of fewer *principes* during the last two centuries BCE, Fortuna, like many other

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[471] See Chapter 2, fn. 244.
[472] Champeaux (1987) 54-55.
[473] For the term "charismatic leader," see Taeger (1960), Fears (1977) 2, Fears (1981b) 735-803.

Roman deities,[474] became less the property of the state and more of the individual, appearing closer and more similar to models promoted in the Greek East and West. Throughout the rise of the individual in the Graeco-Roman world, Tyche and Fortuna remained key protagonists in the success and failure of the individual, Fortuna having her own established tradition already in the regal period in Rome.

Fortuna during the regal period

Roman legend assigned to Servius Tullius a special relationship with Fortuna in the Forum Boarium through the collocation of his house and a shrine to Fortuna.[475] This tradition was preceded by the analogous story of Numa's rapport with the nymph Egeria,[476] so that the idea seems an accepted one from an early chapter in Rome's history. The extremes, however, to which we should

[474] E.g., Hölscher (1967) and Kuttner (1995a) 149-151 on Victoria. See Fears (1981c) and Chapter 4, 263ff. on Roman "Virtues."

[475] Grottanelli (1987) 71-110, Coarelli (1988) 304- 328, Champeaux (1982) 196-198, 199-479, (1987) passim, esp. 293-304. Archaeological evidence confirms the existence of the relationship between Fortuna and Servius Tullius as early as the fourth century inscription (from Fiesole: *se cedues perdere nolo. ni ceduas Fortuna Servios perit*) recording the relationship between Fortuna and Servius. The inscription provides a tantalizing (though singular) material clue as to the veracity of the nature of the archaic Fortuna cult in Rome during the regal period. For an interpretation of this inscription, see *Grande Roma* (1990) 1.3, Lulof (2000) 215.

[476] Livy 1.21.3. Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans* 321C actually equates the nymph Egeria with Fortuna, so that Fortuna was the personal benefactor of Servius and Numa in order to assure the stability and security of primordial Rome.

push these relationships against the reality of the archaeological record seem tenuous before the fourth century BCE.[477]

Nevertheless, the regal tradition and the association of ruler with god, in particular, Fortuna, were not lost on the Roman public, statesmen, and generals because many of the venerable temples and shrines dedicated to Fortuna throughout the city, which were visible and frequented during the Republican and imperial periods, were credibly attributed to Servius Tullius.[478] These included shrines and temples to Fors Fortuna,[479] Fortuna "apotropaios,"[480] Fortuna Brevis,[481] Fortuna "euelpis,"[482] Fortuna "idia,"[483] Fortuna Obsequens,[484] Primigenia,[485] Respiciens,[486] Fortuna Virilis,[487] Fortuna Virgo,[488] and Fortuna Viscata.[489]

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[477] For a brief rebuttal of the relationship between mythic Rome and archaeological remains of the archaic period, see Palmer (1990) in response to Coarelli (1988) 205-442.

[478] The best ancient sources for the Servian dedications are Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans, q. Rom* 74. See below and Chapter 5. For solutions to the many, enigmatic epithets describing the Servian shrines and temples, see Champeaux (198) 195-198 and passim, Coarelli (1988) 253-328.

[479] The earliest cult of Fors Fortuna was attributed to Servius Tullius: Varro, *L.L*. 6.17, Dion. Hal. 4.27, Plut, *q. Rom*. 281, Ovid, *Fasti* 6.783, Platner and Ashby (1965) 212-214, Richardson (1992) 154-155. Although Fears (1981c) 848 doubts the veracity of this foundation since it is dependent on late literary sources, rather than material evidence, the true importance of the cult is that the Romans themselves believed that it had been founded by Servius.

[480] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna apotropaios," II.267-268, Plu., *q. Rom*. 74, Platner and Ashby (1965) 215, Richardson (1992) 155.

[481] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna Brevis," II.268, Plu., *q. Rom*. 74, Platner and Ashby (1965) 215, Richardson (1992) 155.

[482] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna euelpis," II.269, Plu. *q. Rom*. 74, Platner and Ashby (1965) 215-216, Richardson (1992) 156.

[483] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna idia," II.271, Plu., *fort. Rom*. 10, *q. Rom*. 74.

[484] *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Obsequens," II.273, Plu., *fort. Rom*. 10, *q. Rom*. 74, Platner and Ashby (1965) 217, Richardson (1992) 156.

[485] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna Primigenia," II.273-275, (Plu., *fort. Rom*. 10, *q. Rom*. 74, 106), Platner and Ashby (1965) 217-218, Richardson (1992) 156.

Personal relations with Fortuna in Rome during the second century BCE

The relationship of men with gods was transformed through Roman mythical traditions in conjunction with the cult of the individual in the Greek East and West. As a result, Roman statesmen and generals fostered closer ties and more complex relationships between families, traditions, buildings, and dedications. [490]

Beginning in the second century BCE, the rich, varied iconography of Roman coinage concretely testifies to the development away from an emphasis on the *res publica* to the ancestry and achievements of its dedicators through affiliations with specific deities, monuments, and moments.[491] The political competition between Sulla and Marius and their promotion of concepts and associations are particularly manifest in coinage and large-scale dedications.[492]

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[486] Fortuna Respiciens if interpreted correctly as "Tyche epistrephomene" in Plu., *fort. Rom*. 10, *q. Rom*. 74; see Coarelli (1988) 258-260, Platner and Ashby (1965) 218, Richardson (1992) 157. However, the reading in *LTUR* (1995) L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Respiciens," II.276-277 is more convincing, still attributing the earliest phase of the temple to the Servian period.

[487] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna Virgo," II.279-280, Plu., *fort. Rom*. 10, *q. Rom*. 74, Platner and Ashby (1965) 219, Richardson (1992) 158.

[488] *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Virilis," II.280, Plu., *fort. Rom*. 10, Plu., *q. Rom*. 74, Ov. *Fast*. 4.145, Platner and Ashby (1965) 219, Richardson (1992) 158.

[489] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna Viscata/ Viscatrix," II.280-281, Platner and Ashby (1965) 219, Richardson (1992) 158.

[490] Kuttner (1995a) 56-68.

[491] Hölscher (1993) 76-77, Kuttner (1995a)57-58, 60-63, 79-80, 90-92, 149-151.

[492] Hölscher (1993), 52-74, esp. 59-74.

The numismatic evidence of the last two centuries of the Republic depicts the formulation of complex iconography and inscriptions to express abstract concepts and to define figural representations (sometimes borrowed from the Greek figural type repertoire and often created for a specific moment) for a Roman audience.[493]

The earliest shrines of Fortuna are attributed to the reign of Servius Tullius, as discussed above. Contemporaneous to these constructions is the Temple of Fortuna at Sant'Omobono (Dion. Hal. 4.27.7), variously identified,[494] but definitely associated with Roman trade and commerce, in the vicinity of the Tiber and emporium [June 11 (Degrassi 468-469)].[495]

Fortuna temples become victory monuments early on: Fortuna Muliebris (488-486 BCE, dedicated on July 6) and Carvilius' third century reconstruction of the Temple of Fors Fortuna [Livy 10.46.14, 293 BCE, June 24 (Degrassi 473)].[496]

At the end of the third century/ second century BCE, Fortuna publica became a very popular dedication to the goddess, in correspondence with the growth of the power of Rome, and exchange with the sanctuaries of Fortuna

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[493] Ibid., 75-89.

[494] For the Sant'Omobono site, see *LTUR* (1995), G. P. Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes," II.281-285. Platner and Ashby (1965) 219, Champeaux (1982) 268-274 identify the temple as Fortuna Virgo. See the update in *LTUR* (1995), J. Aronen, "Fortuna Virgo," II.279-280. Coarelli (1988) 274-276, 363-414, 451-459, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Redux, Templum," II.275-276 identifies it with the Servian cult of Fortuna apotropaios (Plut. *Q. Rom*. 74), which is questioned by Strazzulla (1993).

[495] Palmer (1990) 242-244, Simon (1990) 61ff.

[496] Champeaux (1987) 68-69. Fortuna Muliebris: Champeaux (1982) 335-374, Mustakallio (1990) 125-131. Fors Fortuna: Champeaux (1982) 199-248. Fors Fortuna temples include those of Ancus Marcius (Dion. 4.27.7), Servius, Carvilius, Plu., *De fort. Rom.* 5, Tiberius', created in 17 CE (Tacitus, *Ann*. 2.41.1). All four were located along the Tiber: Ovid, *Fasti*, 7.773-786, Platner and Ashby (1965) 212-214, Richardson (1992) 155-156.

Primigenia, Antium, and the Tyche of Syracuse.[497] The sanctuary of the Tres Fortunae on the Quirinal (Vitr. 3.2.2) represents the effect of this new concept: Fortuna populi Romani became the Roman version of the city Tyche.[498] The predominance of Fortuna populi Romani would remain the same in Roman political jargon through the time of Pompey,[499] then become transformed under the Roman emperors. Only through the intervention of Julius Caesar is the path laid for the creation of new aspects of Fortuna, Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, under Augustus, intimately tied to his persona.

Although Fortuna remained a popular second-century recipient of cult dedications through her affiliation with important characteristics of the victorious general, in particular through the Temple of Fortuna Equestris in the Campus Martius,[500] she was also becoming a central figure in the iconography of the

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[497] E.g., Chapter 3, 150ff.

[498] The Temple of Fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritum: vowed by P. Sempronius Tuditanus in 204 BCE(Livy 29.36.8) in battle with Hannibal at Croton, dedicated by Q. Marcius Ralla in 194 BCE (Livy 34.53.5-6) on May 25 (Degrassi 461). The Temple of Fortuna Publica Citerior (in Colle) was dedicated on April 5 (Degrassi 437); Ziolkowski (1992) 40-45, Ovid (*Fast*. 4.375-376). The third temple was dedicated November 13 (Degrassi Nov. 13); for prodigies in the temple of 48 BCE, Dio 42.26.3-4. *LTUR* (1995), F. Coarelli, "Fortunae Tres, Aedes," 285-287 argues that the Temple Fortuna Primigenia, sometimes identified as Fortuna Publica populi Romani Quiritum, and hence, Fortuna Publica populi Romani Quiritium Primigenia is in fact a misnomer, which should be defined as two separate temples: Fortuna Publica populi Romani and Fortuna Primigenia. See also Richardson (1992) 158.

[499] E.g., Cic., *Imp. Pomp*. 36 41, 42, 45; Champeaux (1987) 236-259.

[500] Vowed by Q. Fulvius Flaccus in 180 BCE during his campaign in Spain (Livy 40.40.10, 49.9). Dedicated August 13 (Degrassi 494-495) in 173 BCE (Livy 42.10.5). Q. Fulvius Flaccus emulates and imitates his ancestor M.Fulvius Flaccus, who in 264 BCE reconstructed the Temple of Fortuna at Sant'Omobono. For the political dispute over the use of marble roof tiles from Croton, see Livy 42.3.1-11, Val. Max. 1.1.20 . It was destroyed in the fire of 21 CE, which also damaged the Theater of Pompey (Tacitus, *Ann*., 3.72.4, 6.45.2; Hieron. a. Abr. 2037). *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Equestris, Aedes," II.268-269, Coarelli (1997) 268-275, Richardson (1992) 155-156, Platner and Ashby (1965) 215.

individual. Despite the inherent risks that accompanied the use of Fortuna (given her fickle nature), much like the later use of Romulus in art,[501] Fortuna remained a popular goddess precisely because she offered a strongly desired elevated status to her dedicators and worshippers.[502]

Aemilius Paullus and Fortuna Respiciens

Aemilius Paullus appears to have fostered a personal relationship with Fortuna. He defeated King Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE, only to lose his two sons; the story of his experience with the dual nature of Fortuna became legendary in his own lifetime.[503] Perhaps for this reason he would have appropriately chosen to propitiate Fortuna Huiusce Diei (Fortuna of this day, i.e., the Fortuna who saw to the day of the general's victory over Perseus at Pydna).[504] Fortuna, as bestower of Felicitas, was becoming the new catchword for the

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[501] Romulus murdered Remus during the foundation of Rome. This example of fratricide made the image of Romulus double-sided during the Roman civil wars; he was both the founder of Rome and the instigator of civil strife: Sall. *Hist*. 1.55 (Sulla), Plut., *Pomp*. 25, Ps.-Sall. *In Tull*. 4 (Cicero). See Classen (1962) 174-204, Evans (1992) 87-108. Zanker (1988a) 201-218 demonstrates how Augustus reformulated the image of Romulus in the atmosphere of late first century BCE politics. For a recent study of the iconography of Romulus, particularly in the Forum of Augustus, see Spannagel (1999) 82-255.

[502] In the second and first centuries BCE, Fortuna was among the traditional gods (Juno, Diana, Jupiter, and Mars) that often received manubial temples: Beard et al (1998) I.90.

[503] Livy 45.8.6-7, 45.40-41,45.51; Polybius 29.20-21; Plutarch, *Aem*., 27.1-4, 34-36, Horace, *Ode* I.35.3-4. Horace's ode will be discussed further in Chapter 5. See also Kajanto (1967) 86-88.

[504] Platner and Ashby (1965) 216, Richardson (1992) 156, Champeaux (1987) 156-163 sustain the existence of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei on the Palatine. *LTUR* (1995), F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Huiusce Diei, aedes (in Palatio)," II.271 argues *against* the existence of the temple on the Palatine.

epiphany of the god, akin to appearance of the Castores at Battle of Lake Regillus in 484 BCE,[505] which led to the construction of the Temple of the Castores in the Forum.[506] Aemilius' dedication was to be imitated by Q. Lutatius Catulus, on the eve his the Battle at Vercellae in 101 BCE, and Felicitas was to receive her own cult, established by L. Licinius Lucullus (between 146-142 BCE), followed by M. Aemilius Lepidus' short-lived temple of Fausta Felicitas, the Sullan cult of Felicitas on the Capitoline, and Pompey's shrine to Felicitas in his Theater complex.[507]

In addition to the Fortuna temple on the Palatine, L. Aemilius Paullus also is a suitable candidate for being the dedicator of the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens, located along the triumphal route, on the northwest side of the Caelian that faces the Palatine.[508] In a convincing reconstruction of the terracotta San Gregorio pediment (previously identified as the pediment of a Temple of Mars),[509] Strazzulla has argued that Fortuna Respiciens and Fortuna Praesens flank the central figure, Mars. This reconstruction is tenable on several fronts. The cult of Fortuna Respiciens was among the most important Fortuna temples in

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505 Fears (1981b) 776.
506 *LTUR* (1995), I. Nielsen, "Castor, aedes, templum," II.242-245, Richardson (1992) 74-75.
507 *LTUR* (1995), P. Gros, "Fortuna Huiusce Diei, aedes," II.269-270. *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Felicitas, aedes," II.244-245. *LTUR* (1995) E. Tortorici, "Felicitas, naos," II.245-246. *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Felicitas in Capitolio," 266-267. *LTUR* (1999) P. Gros, "Theatrum Pompei," V.35 –38. For further discussion of these cults, see below.
508 For this hypothesis, see Strazzulla (1993) 330-334 *LTUR* (1995), L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Respiciens," II.276-278. The following discussion of the cult of Fortuna Respiciens is heavily dependent on these articles.
509 E.g., Ryberg (1955) 22-23, Kleiner (1992) 52-55.

Rome, through its role in the triumphal parade.[510] Thus the cult of Fortuna Respiciens figures prominently in Fronto (p. 157 N: *omnes tibi Fortunas, Antiates, Praenestinas, Respicientes… reperias*). The cult of Fortuna Respiciens is well attested to in the Republican period,[511] and Fortuna Respiciens and Fortuna Praesens appear together in the imperial period.[512] The dual cult of Fortuna has many, celebrated precedents, which coincide with the Republican formulation of Fortuna Respiciens and Fortuna Praesens.[513]

The relationship between Fortuna and Mars, as visually depicted on the terracotta pediment, is seen in Italy[514] and in Rome, most notably during the imperial period, e.g., outside the Porta Capena, the Altar of Fortuna Redux by the Temples of Honos and Virtus are in the vicinity of the Temple of Mars, and the location of the statue of Fortuna next to Mars on the Mars Ultor pediment, depicted on the Villa Medici relief.[515] The relationship between Fortuna and Nortia is strongest in Rome through the cult of Fortuna Respiciens, demonstrating the layered meanings of uncertainty, divine retribution, and capriciousness in the

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[510] Coarelli (1988) 258-261, 525-526, Versnel (1970) 380. During the triumphal parade, a slave accompanied the general in his triumphal chariot, whispering into his ear: *Respice et te homo esse memento* (Tertull., *Apolog*., 33.4).

[511] Plaut., *Cap*. 833-835; *Rudens* 1316. Cic., *De Leg*. 28: *Respiciens ad opem ferendam*. *CIL* IX 5178; XI 347, 817, 6307; XIII 6472.

[512] Found on the Quirinal, second century CE, *CIL* VI 181 is dedicated: *Fortunae Augustae Respiciente* and *Fortunae Augustae Praesenti*.

[513] E.g., the cults of Fortuna at Antium, Praeneste, discussed in Chapter 2, fn. 147.

[514] Twin dedications at Tusculum, of military tribune M. Furius to Mars and Fortuna: *CIL* XIV 2578f. See also *CIL* 481 (*Marti et Fortunae C. Alfidius Secundus miles coh. d. d.*)

[515] For the Altar of Fortuna Redux and the Temple of Honos and Virtus, see *RG* 11 and Chapter 5. For the location of the Temple of Mars outside the Porta Capena, between the first and second

goddess, successfully blended with the personas of Tyche and Fortuna in the second century BCE.[516]

Felicitas

Along with important monuments dedicated to Fortuna in the second century BCE, came the slightly later arrival of the cult of Felicitas. Felicitas, a translation of Eutyche, played a role in the attributes of the successful general.[517] Virtus and Felicitas were the defining characteristics of Scipio Africanus, according to the Senate and, following the previously cited Hellenistic precedents, quickly became part of the standard vocabulary of laudable characteristics of Roman notables.[518] Although Felicitas appears only once on Roman Republican coinage,[519] she is usually depicted in the imperial period holding a caduceus, which is also associated with Pax.[520]

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milestones: Richardson (1992) 244-245, *CIL* 6.10234, Appian, *Bell. Civ*. 3.41. For the Villa Medici relief: Fn. 270.

[516] Strazzulla (1993) 331-332, 334-348, esp. 338.

[517] Erkell (1952) 43-128, Wistrand (1987) passim.

[518] Fears (1981b) 783, Ganschow (1997) 585-592.

[519] Obverse: Head of Felicitas with diadem, right, FELICITATIS behind. Reverse: Victory on galloping biga, holding wreath, PALIKANI underneath. Silver quinarius. Rome. 45 BCE. Sear (1998) 53 #88, *RRC* 473/3, Sydenham 962, *BMCRR* 4016, RSC/Babelon Lollia 3a), recalling Julius Caesar's victory over the Pompeian faction.

[520] Caduceus as symbol of *felicitas saeculi*: Wissowa (1912) 267 fn. 3: Varro *ad. Non*., p. 528, Gell. 10.27.3 (for the caduceus as the *signum pacis*). Kuttner (1995a) 266 n. 51, 286 n. 26. Caduceus of Felicitas and Pax: Weinstock (1960) 45, Fears (1981c) 879 [Steuding, "Felicitas," *Myth.Lex* I.2 (1886-1890) 1475].

Felicitas was to receive her own cult, established by L. Licinius Lucullus around 146 BCE [Strabo 8.6.23 (381)],[521] the decoration of which was to be augmented by Mummius' spoils from Corinth (Cicero, Verr. 2.2.2.4; Pliny *N.H.* 34.69). Further plans to beautify the temple by Lucullus, the homonymous grandson of the original dedicator of the temple, i.e., the commission for a new cult statue by Arkesilaos (Pliny *N.H.* 36.155-156), apparently remained unfinished.[522] The temple figures in the triumph of Julius Caesar, when the axle of his triumphal chariot breaks in front of the temple, locating the temple in the Velabrum on the triumphal route (Suet. *Caesar* 37, Dio 43.21.1), up the street from the Temple of Fortuna at Sant'Omobono, which may coincide with the imperial Temple of Fortuna Redux.[523] This first Felicitas temple was followed by the Sullan cult of Fausta Felicitas on the Capitoline, M. Aemilius Lepidus' short-lived temple of Felicitas in 44 BCE (Dio 44.5.2), and Pompey's shrine to Felicitas in his Theater complex in 55 BCE.[524]

The growth in the popularity of Felicitas does not signal the demise the Fortuna cults. In fact, Dio, in describing the Temple of Felicitas in the Velabrum (43.31.1), calls it a *Tychaion*, whereas Strabo describes it as a Temple of *Eutychia*

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[521] The temple was erected in the Velabrum: Dio 43.31.1, Strabo 8.26.3, Suet., *Iul*. 37.2. Platner and Ashby (1965) 207. Richardson (1992) 150; *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Felicitas, aedes," II.244-245.

[522] Pollitt (1992) 88.

[523] Coarelli (1988) 274-276, 363-414, 451-459, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Redux, aedes," II.275-276. For further discussion of the location of the Temple of Fortuna Redux: Chapter 5.

(8.26.3). Both Greek terms underline the immediate connections Greeks and Romans made between Felicitas and Fortuna as well as the close affinity of one cult for the other.

The worship of the goddess Felicitas depends on and exhibits a Roman predisposition for the favorable side of Fortuna: hence the bias that Romans only worshipped the "good" side of Fortuna.[525] However, Strazzulla's recent study of the cult of Fortuna Respiciens has demonstrated that dedications to "uncertain" Fortuna existed, even in a triumphal context.[526] Usually, however, the Roman religious practice reflected that of the Greeks, who worshipped Agathe Tyche and Tyche. Indeed, it was typical for the triumphant Roman general to fulfill a vow to a deity after a battle, using the acquired *manubiae*. A winner would always heighten the effect of his victory through the placation of patron deities; obviously "good luck," as an aspect of Fortuna, played a more frequent part of that, rather than "bad luck." Therefore, a distinction between Felicitas and Fortuna existed; *felicitas* depends on Fortuna's favor, which is indiscriminate. In addition, Fortuna could be bad, whereas Felicitas could not.[527]

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[524] *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Felicitas, aedes," II.244-245. *LTUR* (1995) E. Tortorici, "Felicitas, naos," II.245-246. *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Felicitas in Capitolio," 266-267. *LTUR* (1999) P. Gros, "Theatrum Pompei," V.35 –38.

[525] E.g., Champeaux (1987) passim, esp. 202-213. See the discussion in Chapter 2, 54ff.

[526] As discussed above, the cult of Fortuna Respiciens does have negative connotations. This fickleness originates with the personality of Nortia and the purported Etruscan role in the triumph, before the introduction of the Hellenized Tyche in Rome, as demonstrated by Strazzulla (1993). For the altar of Fortuna Mala, see Cicero *Nat. Deor.* 3.63, *Leg*. 2.28; Pliny *N. H.* 2.16; Champeaux (1982) 91-97, 112-118.

[527] Cicero, *Leg. Man*. 30-60. Augustine 4.18ff. For an opposite interpretation of Augustine, see Kajanto (1981) 555-556 who believes that Augustine did not understand the distinction between

Gaius Marius

Marius was the first Roman general openly considered Fortuna's favorite by his peers (e.g., Varro's lost *Marius de Fortuna,* Cicero's lost *Marius*, Sallust, *B.J.* 63.1).[528] At the same time, however, according to our principal ancient source, Plutarch, Marius himself considered Fortuna an untrustworthy goddess since he was the most prominent Roman general in his youth and a most disaffected leader in his old age.[529]

In Plutarch's account, Marius first was favored by Fortuna, dominating Rome politically and militarily, the first of the true Roman dynasts, then abandoned by the goddess for Sulla. According to Plutarch, Marius' experience was to be felt also by Lucullus, Pompey, and Mark Antony, in confrontation with, respectively, the Fortuna of Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Octavian (discussed below), suggesting that the abandonment of Fortuna was a later literary and political retrospection. However, Marius encountered the fickle nature of Fortuna, just as Aemilius Paullus had experienced both sides of Fortuna, as

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Fortuna and Felicitas. Kajanto believes that Fortuna was fickle and malicious only as a literary entity. In contrast to Cicero and Augustine's Fortuna and Felicitas, see Servius, *ad Aen.,* 3.16*: sciendum quotiescumque fortunam solam dicimus felicitatem intellegi*. Erkell (1952) 43-128, Weinstock (1971) 113. See Fears (1981b) 746-747, fn. 34-38 for bibliography.

528 Carney (1970), Evans (1994), Seager (1994a), Champeaux (1987) 165-167, 239ff., 247-249. See Champeaux (1987) 216, fn. 1 for bibliography.

uncertain deity and ensurer of victory, in the second century BCE. This idea parallels Livy's examination of Q. Fabius Maximus, whom he portrays first as worshipping Fortuna then falling prey to her very capricious nature.[530] Eventually, the figure of Marius was revitalized by Cicero (*De imp. Cn. Pomp*. 16.47) who considered him of the prominent generals who possessed, "divinitus adiuncta Fortuna."

In conclusion, in the Republican period, particularly beginning with the second century BCE, prominent individuals, both statesmen and generals, cultivate multiple associations between themselves and Roman gods, to create a complex semantic system expressed in numismatic representations, cult statues, cult dedications, and temples. Through these public and private affiliations, these individuals distance themselves from their peers and the centralized power of the Senate. Fortuna is of particular interest throughout, given her prominent role in the achievement of Victoria and Felicitas. As seen through the examples of Aemilius Paullus and Marius, control of her uncertain personality makes her that much more desirable to the Romans of the Republic.

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[529] Plutarch, *Marius*, 45.5, which quotes Poseidonius, *FgrHist*. 87 F 37. Poseidonius was an important Stoic philosopher whose writings recognized that Fortuna favored Sulla rather than Marius.

[530] Livy 21.62, 22.18.8, 22.41.1; Fears (1981b) 855.

FORTUNA AND THE ROMAN GENERALS OF THE FIRST CENTURY BCE: POLITICS, RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE, AND DOMESTIC CONTEXT

Recent studies in Roman topography have revolutionized our concept of the relationship between Romans and the environs of Rome.[531] The extent to which Romans extrapolated meaning from topographical features, buildings, location of dedicatory statues and inscriptions was profound.[532] Therefore, the constructions of the Fortuna cult throughout the city conveyed to the Roman audience meanings derived from their proximity to preexisting structures and the homes of Roman dynasts, especially during the end of the first century BCE.

Due to the extent of extant material remains and rich literary record, much attention has focused on the house of Augustus on the Palatine and its extraordinary collocation with the adjoining Temple of Apollo.[533] This construction (despite the modest use of tufa as opposed to marble veneer) has been linked thematically and symbolically with the Hellenistic concept of ruler. Eastern monarchs had privileged access and communication with the gods; a well-known example is the upper sanctuary of Pergamon, which housed a series of sanctuaries and the palace of the Attalids.[534] Without going as far as Asia Minor, it is just as possible to consider models in Rome for Augustus'

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[531] For a synopsis of recent developments in the study of Rome's topography:*LTUR* I-VI, (1993-1999), Coarelli (1983), (1985), (1988), Favro (1996), Haselberger (2000) 515-528.
[532] E.g., *LTUR* (1995) N. Purcell, "Forum Romanum," II.325-342; Davies (2000) 136-171 discusses the power of place and the important link between Roman architecture and ritual.
[533] Zanker (1988a) 51-52, Carettoni (1983), Carettoni (1988) 263-266, *LTUR* (1995), I. Iacopi, "Domus Augustus (Palatium)," II.46-48.

architectural complex, in particular, the constructions of Lucullus, Pompey, and Julius Caesar. They reveal that, as in so many ways, Augustus followed recent late Republican precedents as well, which also imitated and emulated a venerable Roman tradition that was linked with the cult of Fortuna, i.e., Servius Tullius' house in the vicinity of Fortuna's temple.

The following is a survey of the Roman commanders who consciously forged ties with Fortuna and acknowledged her power in their fortunes and misfortunes, often times associating their domiciles and temples with the cult of Fortuna. Catulus makes an important symbolic link between the grain dole and the role of Fortuna through his Temple of Fortuna in the Campus Martius that would have a lasting impact on the religio-political and architectural landscape in the following hundred years (particularly, the building activity of Pompey, Agrippa, and Augustus). Parallel to his treatment of Venus, Sulla is the first general to bring Fortuna into the true forefront of Roman politics and religion on a personal level. Lucullus, despite cultivating the image of Fortuna, is Sulla's failed heir, jilted by the goddess. Pompey follows Sulla's lead, but Julius Caesar forges new, personal associations with Fortuna, immediately imitated by Mark Antony and Octavian.

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[534] La Rocca (1986) 3-35.

Q. Lutatius Catulus

In emulation of Aemilius Paullus' Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei on the Palatine hill, as previously discussed, Q. Lutatius Catulus vowed a temple to Fortuna Huiusce Diei during the Battle of Vercellae, on July 30, 101 (Plut., *Marius*, 26.2).[535] After this victory, Catulus constructed the temple in the Campus Martius at the turn of the century. The dedication day remained the same as the day of the battle, although the exact year is uncertain (Degrassi 488). The ancient calendars describe this temple as Aedes Fortunae Huiusce Diei, "in campo (Martio)," distinguished from Aemilius Paullus homonymous temple on the Palatine.

Coarelli, after Boyancé, has convincingly identified Temple B in Largo Argentina as Catulus' temple for two reasons. The shape of the temple was compared with a cenatio of Varro's aviarium, which imitated the shape of the temple (Varro, *Rust*. 3.5.12), and the temple was very close to the Porticus Minucia (first constructed in 110 BCE), the site of grain distribution in the city.[536] Temple B is circular and peripteros, like Varro's imitative cenatio, with eighteen Corinthian columns. It is not by chance that this shape was chosen. The temple located at the summit of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, which

[535] Platner and Ashby (1965) 216, Champeaux (1987) 154-169, Richardson (1992) 156, *LTUR* (1995), P. Gros, "Fortuna Huiusce Diei, aedes," II.269-270, Coarelli (1997) 275-293.

had just been rebuilt recently, was also a tholos. The sanctuary also included a monopteros on the terrace below the main piazza with the theater.[537] A colossal acrolithic statue was found in the vicinity of Catulus' temple and convincingly identified as the cult statue for the temple.[538]

The various statuary dedications located inside (Pliny, *N.H.* 34.60, 35.54) certainly added to the prominence and appearance of the structure. The artwork was so beautiful that in 70 BCE Cicero considered it (with its stuccoed–over tufa columns and marble entablature),[539] Lucullus' Temple of Felicitas, and the Porticus Metelli, the three sites that contained the richest collections of Greek art in Rome (Cic., *Verr*. 2.4.26).[540] Before the building interventions in Rome from the time of Sulla to Agrippa,[541] these two structures, dedicated to Fortuna and Felicitas, exerted a powerful visual image on the minds of the Roman public through the art collected inside, indicating the power of the goddesses and their prominence in Roman religion, politics, and the arts.

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[536] Boyancé (1940), Coarelli (1997) 275-293. *LTUR* (1999) D. Manacorda, "Porticus Minucia Frumentaria," IV.132-37, *LTUR* (1999) F. Coarelli, "Porticus Minucia Vetus," IV.137-139, Coarelli (1997) 296-345, Claridge (1998) 219-220.

[537] For definitions of tholos (walled behind the shrine's columns) and monopteros (unwalled), see Kuttner (1998) 104. For the date of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia (150-100 BCE), see Lauter (1979) 290-359, Rakob (1990) 61-92, Kuttner (1998) 96. For the cosmological implications of this building for the cult of Fortuna and contemporary philosophical thought, see Sauron (1994) 135-167 and below.

[538] For previous analysis and description of the statue: Helbig (1968) II.1673 (E. Simon), Martin (1987) 103-111, Coarelli (1997) 290-293.

[539] Coarelli (1997) 285.

[540] Coarelli (1997) 277.

[541] E.g., Caesar and Augustus in the Forum Romanum: Coarelli (1985) 2.211-324; Pompey and Julius Caesar in the Campus Martius: Coarelli (1997) 539-590.

Catulus' creation of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, in imitation of Paullus' temple, seems to suggest the possession of a fleeting moment in time, akin to the notion of Fortuna Brevis,[542] harnessing a fickle Fortuna to guarantee victory.

At the same time, and more importantly, Catulus' dedication demonstrates a transformation from Aemilius Paullus' temple. Cicero (*de Leg*. 2.28) describes Catulus' temple as *Fortunaque sit vel huiusce diei, nam valet omnes dies* (Fortune of this day, which is always in effect). Coarelli interprets Cicero's remark, the proximity of the temple to the Porticus Minucia[543] (site of the distribution of the annona, or grain supply), and the shape of the temple, as separate, though related, references to the role of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei in the annona during Republican Rome. [544]

The tessera frumentaria, a ticket used by those on the dole to redeem grain, has been identified as a rectangular card attached to a small circle or ring.[545] This figure is similar to the Republican phase of Temple B: a portico (which was not reconstructed in the Domitianic phase) extending eastward from the round temple towards the Porticus Minucia. Therefore, according to Coarelli, the form

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[542] For the inherent unstable character of Fortuna described in a variety of epithets, see the discussion in Graf (1997) 4.600, Chapter 2, 54ff. For the affiliation between Fortuna and the Greek Kairos: Chapter 2, 80ff.

[543] See fn. 536.

[544] Virlouvet (1995) 309-352, Coarelli (1997) 275-293.

[545] Virlouvet (1995) 309-352, Coarelli (1997) 286-287. The earliest representation of the tessera is shown on a coin of Lollius Palicanus, datable to 45 BCE, in commemoration of Julius Caesar's reforms of the *frumentationes* in 46 BCE. The obverse: an urn without handles (olla). The reverse: tessera in the center, with PALIK, on right, ANVS on left. Silver sestertius. Rome. Sear (1998) 53 #89, RRC 473/4, Sydenham 963, *BMCRR* 4017, Babelon Lollia 4. For an alternate interpretation of the "ticket," Sear (1998) 54.

of the round temple and long portico attached to the temple's porch recreate the form of the tessera, indicative of the important role that the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei played in the distribution of grain in Rome.[546]

Cicero's joking remark, then, refers to the happy occasion during which Roman citizens may partake in the grain dole, according to Coarelli. In this way has the day of Catulus' victory been immortalized to associate the temple with the grain dole in the city, as sort of guarantor of the Roman citizens' "daily bread."[547] It is more probable, however, that Cicero's offhand remark is more ironic. Coarelli considers the temple and the grain dole in a positive light, but, since grain shortages were anything but uncommon in Rome and the political position to oversee the grain supply was very politicized,[548] Cicero seems to be much more flippant than Coarelli's assessment first suggests. A brief analysis of the grain supply in Rome illustrates the feeling of uncertainty that pervaded the city regarding food for the general population and the suitability of the imagery of Fortuna with the grain distribution.

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[546] Coarelli (1997) 282-283. Coarelli also notes the similarity between the shape of the Temple Huiusce Diei and the Temple of Hercules Musarum in the Circus Flaminius, which may have been another architectural model for Catulus' temple: Coarelli (1997) 476-484. In this discussion, Coarelli also notes that the architecture of the Hercules' temple may have influenced the design of the Verrius Flaccus' monument in Praeneste (480ff), which he has reconstructed in Coarelli (1987), discussed in Chapter 5. *LTUR* (1996) A. Viscogliosi, "Hercules Musarum, aedes," III.17-19, dates the construction of the temple between 187 and 179 BCE.

[547] Coarelli (1997) 289.

[548] Garnsey (1988) 167ff.

Feeding Rome: the annona[549]

The aediles oversaw the annona in Rome as early as 209 BCE. A quaestor at Ostia regulated the transportation of the grain supply from Ostia to Rome. Reflecting the importance of the port city of Ostia and the importation of grain into Rome from the port, P. Lucilius Gamala dedicated a series of temples to the related deities, Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes, echoing Catulus' temple of Fortuna and Sulla's patronage of Venus.[550] J. D'Arms' recent study of the inscriptions that describe the temples has led to the new proposal that the temples date to the Caesarian period (46-40 BCE).[551] Much later in Ostia, the early third century CE Sacello di Silvano (repainted in the Severan period), a cult room in the back of a bakery, [Caseggiato dei Molini (I 2)], depicts Alexander, the emperor Caracalla, Isis, Harpocrates, Genius, Fortuna, and Annona (whose imperial-dated iconography, a tessera frumentaria and rudder, defines her as the Fortuna of the grain dole)[552] in a wall painting. These figures underline the

549 Rickman (1980), Garnsey (1988), Veyne (1990), Sirks (1991), Virlouvet (1995) passim, Mattingly and Aldrete (2000),142-165 with up to date bibliography.

550 Zevi (1976) 53 gives the standard date of the 80s BCE. Fortuna and Venus: the Sullan cult statue of Venus Pompeiana (see below). Fortuna and Ceres: the shared grain stalk iconography of both goddesses (Chapter 1, Tyche of Antioch), *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "horrea Galbana," III.40-42 (Fortuna protecting Ceres' grain), Champeaux (1982) 225-229. Fortuna and Spes: Horace, *Ode* I.35.21, *CIL* X 3775 (Capua 110 BCE), *CIL* XIV 2853, VI 15 594, Plu. *q. Rom.* 74, Platner and Ashby (1965) 215-216, Champeaux (1987) 208-211, Richardson (1992) 156, Spes: *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna euelpis," II.269.

551 D'Arms (2000) 192-200. According to this study, the four Sullan-period temples in Ostia (located by the Agrippan theater) frequently identified with the four temples constructed by Gamala [e.g., Meiggs (1973) 350-351] are not the same.

552 D'Escurac (1981) 795-799, Coarelli (1997) 290-293.

associative iconography of the Roman emperor, Egypt (through Isis), Fortuna, and Annona during the imperial period.[553]

Throughout Rome's history, many events affected the grain supply, such as fire, flood, spoilage, warfare, famine, piracy, natural causes (i.e., failure of crops), and shipment. Due to the countless shortages of grain that took place throughout Rome's history, these grain crises became very politicized.

In such emergencies, praetors (e.g., M. Scaurus, 104 BCE) oversaw the annona (e.g., Asc., *Corn*. 59). Most of the grain came from Sardinia and Sicily, whose Tyche of Syracuse went from protecting its city's fleet of warships to watching over its grains ships traveling from the Sicily to Rome (as previously noted, as early as the rule of Hieron II, before Sicily became a Roman province).

The concept of the annona drastically changed with Gaius Gracchus' *lex frumentaria* (offering fixed prices of grain to Rome citizens).[554] By 58 BCE, P. Clodius made such distributions free, ingratiating himself with the populace. A shortage of grain in 58-57 BCE was an opportunity for the Senate to award Pompey the *cura annonae* in 57 BCE; he was the right man for the job, having wiped out the pirates that had interfered with maritime trade, including the grain supply, in 67 BCE.[555] The honor of *cura annonae* was next bestowed upon Augustus, in 22 BCE (*RG* 5). On each occasion, Pompey and Augustus marked

[553] Bakker (1994) 134-167, 251-254, 262-270.
[554] Virlouvet (1995) 117ff.
[555] Garnsey (1988) 201.

the events with impressive monuments, which will be discussed further in the following sections. Pompey, in coordination with his triumph in 55 BCE structurally attached his theater complex to the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, which served as a symbolic bridge between his monument and the Porticus Minucia, the principal site in Rome for grain distribution. Augustus, upon his return to Rome in 19 BCE, was honored with the Altar of Fortuna Redux (*RG* 11, see Chapter 5). Fortuna was selected appropriately, since in 22 BCE, before departing for the East, Augustus had raised the number of recipients on the dole and created a board of prefects to oversee the grain distribution, simultaneously refusing any honors in compensation, e.g., the consulship (*RG* 5).

Cosmic implications of Catulus' Temple of Fortuna

In a recent study, G. Sauron has argued for a new symbolic language in the architecture and figural arts (in addition to the studies of Zanker and Simon), based on the philosophical and theological culture of the Greek world adopted by the Romans. In particular he asserts that the Roman intelligensia,[556] including Cicero and Varro, promoted cosmology and eschatology, as part of Platonic and

556 For the effect of Greek literature and philosophy in late Republican Rome: Rawson (1985) 3-18, 38-53, 54-65, 66-99.

Pythagorean doctrines, which flourished in Rome during the last century BCE, finding physical form in contemporary architecture and art.[557]

Of all the gods in Rome, Fortuna possesses chthonic and astral aspects that were especially effectively highlighted by architectural forms, especially round buildings, when charged with such cosmological speculation.[558] Sauron underlines the cosmological significance of the round temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste,[559] the fountain of Verrius Flaccus (with curved apse with calendar and allegorical figures of the seasons),[560] and Catulus' round temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei.[561] Sauron's argument is particularly convincing regarding Varro's circular aviary-triclinium in his villa at Casinum as a symbolic "cosmic simulacrum" for Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines, which were paralleled with the structure of the Temple of Huiusce Diei in Rome. To this panoply of round Fortuna temples, we may add one of the temples of Fors Fortuna, with its own noted cosmic implications.[562]

Catulus also dedicated a statue on the Capitolium, which may confirm many of the cosmological implications of his temple of Fortuna in the Campus Martius. Catulus placed on the Capitolium a statue of Bonus Eventus, the work

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[557] Sauron (1994), reviewed by Castriota (1997) 185-187.
[558] Sauron (1994) 25-82, Castriota (1997) 186.
[559] Sauron (1994) 99-135.
[560] Ibid., 133-135, Coarelli (1987), and Chapter 5, 315.
[561] Sauron (1994) 135-167.
[562] For the recent identification of one of the Fors Fortuna temples as a tholos on the Severan *Forma Urbis*: Coarelli (1992) 39-54. The cosmology of Fors Fortuna cult: Champeaux (1982) 211-223.

of Euphranor, a fourth century BCE sculptor (Pliny *N.H.* 37.77).[563] Bonus Eventus is the Latin term for Agathos Daimon[564] and Triptolemus.[565]

The appearance of Bonus Eventus conveys a chthonic and eschatological link between other figures on the Capitolium [e.g., a pair of statues of Bonus Eventus and Bona Fortuna also dedicated on the Capitolium, the works of Praxiteles (Pliny N.H. 36.20)],[566] as well as Catulus' Temple of Fortuna in the Campus Martius.

Catulus' statue of Bonus Eventus held an offering bowl in the right hand and an ear of corn and some poppies in the left one (Pliny *N.H.* 37.77). The corn and poppies signify the god's influence over the dead, as well as his role in the harvest. Bonus Eventus, first a Roman agricultural god, according to Varro (*rust.* 1.1.6), became intimately associated with Fortuna in the Augustan age, receiving a temple near the Stagnum Agrippae (see Chapter 4).[567] Triptolemus, who was depicted with the same iconography as Bonus Eventus, was one of the princes of Eleusis, to whom Demeter (Ceres), goddess of grain, taught her mysteries (*H. H.*

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563 Pollitt (1990) 93, Isager (1991) 135, 159.
564 Dunand (1981) 277-282.
565 Schwartz (1997) 57-68.
566 Pollitt (1990) 85. The dedicator and the time of the dedication of these works on the Capitolium are unknown.
567 Wissowa (1912) 267, Axtell (1907) 30-31, Arias (1986) 123-126, Richardson (1992) 60. Coarelli (1997) 294-296 suggests that this was the Temple of Felicitas vowed by Julius Caesar at Thapsus (Caes., *b. Afr.* 83) and later completed by Augustus, rather than Lepidus' Temple of Felicitas on the site of the Curia Hostilia (Dio 45.5.2). *LTUR* (1993) C. Buzzetti, "Bonus Eventus," I.202-203.

to Dem, 153, 474). Triptolemus was worshipped in Eleusis and regarded as lawgiver, and one of the judges of underworld (Pl. *Ap*. 41a).[568]

Notwithstanding the inconclusive assertions of Sauron regarding the overall religious motivations surrounding late Republican politics and architecture in Rome,[569] he has convincingly argued that the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei in the Campus Martius proclaims the order of life through the god's epiphany on behalf of its dedicator. Coarelli has demonstrated her central role in securing Rome's well-being through the grain distribution. Together, Catulus' temple and statuary dedications more forcefully confirm the strong association between Ceres and Fortuna as well as Fortuna and grain.

Fortuna and Tyche were long considered intimately associated with commerce and trade, most of which depended on sailing, beginning with the Tyche of Syracuse, Alexandria, and Antioch on the Orontes. The cornucopia, full of fruits and grain, was an immediate sign of the abundance that Fortuna literally could bring, and the rudder also underlined the goddesses' role in maritime activities.[570]

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[568] Schwartz (1987).

[569] A continuation of this "religious doctrine" is visible in the "theology" of the cult of Venus Victrix, in particular in Pompey's Theater complex, since Pompey was a noted student of Varro: Sauron (1994) 249-314, 315-430. Sauron interprets the Augustan age as a transformation from this Venus Victrix doctrine, to that of Apollo, one of Augustus' patron gods: Sauron (1994) 485-565. Such assessment is questionable, given the close relationship between Pompey's architectural space and the building program of Augustus in Rome.

[570] Chapter 2, 70ff., 77ff.

Fortuna and Tyche were standard figures in harbors and coastal cities, including Syracuse, Alexandria, Antioch (on the Orontes river), Praeneste and its port city Antium, Rome, with the Temple of Fortuna at Sant'Omobono in the vicinity of Rome's early emporium and markets, and Pompeii, with its Temple of Venus in the guise of a city Tyche.

The grain shipment became the lifeline to Rome, with a population of a million in the imperial period and as many as a quarter of the population on the dole.[571] The role of Fortuna, along with other deities related to the grain shipment (e.g., Castores, Ceres, Isis),[572] increased in prominence as the importation of grain increased. A culmination of the importance of the annona and its tie to Fortuna is manifested in the creation of the goddess Annona during the reign of Nero.[573] This goddess was intimately dependent on and derived from Fortuna, if not specifically the Fortuna Huiusce Diei in the Campus Martius.[574]

In the second century CE, Tacitus (*Ann*. 3.54) remarked that Italy relied on external resources and the life of the people of Rome was tossed daily on the uncertainties of sea and storm. Therefore, Fortuna was appropriately venerated regarding sea travel and storms, an appropriate companion of both Julius Caesar

[571] Mattingly, Aldrete (2000) 154.
[572] E.g., Tyche with Demeter, Dioscouri in Dio Chrys. *Or*. 64.8. Fortuna and Isis: *CIL* XIV 2867, Apul. *Met*. 11.15.
[573] D'Escurac (1981) 795-799. Sestertius of Nero (64-66 CE): *BMC Emp*. 1.220-221, nos. 127-130 pl. 41.6; *RIC* 150-151 nos. 73-87 pl. 10 167.
[574] Op. cit. Coarelli (1997) 290-293.

and Augustus.[575] The Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, with the Porticus Minucia (built just a decade before the Fortuna temple, in 110 BCE) demonstrates the important tie between Fortuna and the grain trade. This relationship was echoed at Rome's port, Ostia, in the Caesarian period, as we have seen, where Gamala constructed temples to Ceres, Venus, Spes, and Fortuna, in imitation of cult developments in Rome, all tied to the grain supply. In a related development, Fortuna prominently became the protectress of many horrea (grain warehouses) in Rome and Ostia, particularly, that of Galba, whose family had additional ties to Fortuna in the imperial period.[576]

Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix[577]

Sulla associated his political and iconographic rhetoric with Fortuna as strongly as some Hellenistic monarchs, adopting some of their language and imagery for shaping his own identity. Sulla wrote in his *Memoirs*[578] about his special rapport with Fortuna, who was responsible for his Felicitas. Sulla's

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[575] Julius Caesar's sea crossing: see below. Augustus in Horace I.35, a hymn praying for Augustus on his departure from Rome, via Antium, and his return by sea to Antium (on the way back from the East) honored with Altar of Fortuna Redux in 19 BCE (*RG* 11): Chapter 5.

[576] Galba: Suet., *Galba* 4.18, *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "horrea Galbana," III.40-42, Chapter 5, 358). Ostia: Bakker (1994) passim for Fortuna associated with horrea, guilds, and bakeries during the imperial period, usually the first and second centuries CE.

[577] Studies on "Felix" Sulla include: Passerini (1935) 90-97, Balsdon (1951) 1-10, Erkell (1952) 41-128, Taeger (1960) 19-27, Levi (1980) 167-171, Keaveney (1982) 40-42, 216-218, Champeaux (1987) 216-236, esp. 217 fn. 8, Seager (1994) 165-207.

[578] The *Memoirs* are preserved in Plutarch's *Sulla* and Appian's *Civil Wars* (Book I) and *Mithridatica*.

Memoirs were edited by L. Licinius Lucullus, Sulla's designated, though ill-fated, heir.

Sulla and Fortuna

Sulla was called Felix (Pliny *N.H.* 7.137) because he himself stated in his *Memoirs* that he was a child of Fortuna, and eagerly attributed his victories to his good luck.[579] Such claims appropriately juxtaposed him with the historical and mythological precedents of Timoleon and Servius Tullius, who had been known for their own intimate relationships with Fortuna,[580] and responded to the increased prominence and demi-god status of late Republican Roman generals, in imitation of the Greek veneration of Hellenistic monarchs.

The creation of the Temple of Felicitas by Lucullus (the grandfather of Sulla's protégé, Lucullus), along with Catulus' temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, were very important visually in architectural landscape of Rome during the second and first centuries BCE, and very much noted by Romans even in Cicero's day. Sulla was aware and took over these images and their associations in many ways. Besides assuming the name Felix, he also named his twins Faustus and Fausta, names which the Romans consider lucky (or auspicious) and joyful (Plut.,

[579] This was among many other ties that Sulla used to associate himself with the gods and demonstrate that he had obtained their favor. However, this epithet became legendary for Sulla. See Erkell (1952) 88-92 for list of ancient sources. Plut., *Sulla* 6.8ff.

Sulla, 34.3). He designated Lucullus as his heir (fittingly, given his familial tie to the cult of Felicitas) and guardian of his son, Faustus, before he came of age (Plut., *Luc*. 4.4). A cult in honor of his family and children may have been the motivation for Sulla's dedication of a shrine to Fausta Felicitas on the Capitoline.[581] Its association with the shrine to Venus Victrix[582] would have repercussions with successive dynasts, Lucullus, Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Octavian as well, as Venus became an essential protectress in late Republican religion and politics.

The Fortuna which guaranteed Sulla's Felicitas features very prominently in Plutarch's account of the *Life of Sulla*, which records several anecdotes that express Sulla's open affinity for Fortuna and belief in her ability to bestow her favor on him. Sulla willingly contrasted himself with Timotheus, son of Conon, whom his adversaries deprecatingly depicted in a painting as lying asleep while Tyche cast her net to haul in the cities he had conquered (fourth century BCE).[583] Timotheus reacted angrily because he felt deprived of the credit for his victories, but Sulla acknowledged the importance of Fortuna in his success (6.3). Plutarch comments that Sulla did so out of boastfulness or sincere belief in Fortuna's

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[580] See Champeaux (1987) 219 for a similar assessment of Sulla's affiliation with Fortuna.
[581] *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Fausta Felicitas," III.242-243, Richardson (1992) 148, Platner and Ashby (1965) 206.
[582] *LTUR* (1999), D. Palombi, "Venus Victrix (Capitolium)," V.119-120. See also *LTUR* (1999) L. Chioffi, "Venus Felix, aedes," V.116, Richardson (1992) 408.
[583] Discussion of the painting in Kuttner (1995a) 74.

divine aid (6.4). Indeed, Sulla wrote in his *Memoirs* that he was inherently more closely linked with Fortuna than with war (6.5).

There are three more indications that Sulla's recognized Fortuna's positive intervention in his life. Sulla acknowledges Fortuna for his marriage, which allowed him to become kinsman with Metellus (6.5). In his dedication of his *Memoirs* to Lucullus, he instructed him to acknowledge the divine power that visits him in his dreams (6.6), probably Fortuna. Lucullus was Sulla's designated political heir, who was politically unsuccessful against Pompey, Sulla's other protégé.

The third notice refers to the prominence of Fortuna in Sulla's life and reflects the popular belief about Sulla's luck: Valeria's theft of a tuft of cloth from Sulla's mantle in order to partake in his good fortune (35.4).[584] Sulla's consideration of Fortuna and recognition of her powers includes political, religious, and social aspects of the goddess.

Regarding visitations from gods, Sulla openly stated that he was visited in his dreams by Mater Magna in 88 BCE, which Plutarch also identifies as Luna,[585] Minerva, or Bellona (9.3-4). Mater Magna arrived in Rome in 204 BCE in the form of an aniconic deity, eventually depicted as a city Tyche (represented by a

[584] Discussed in Passerini (1935), Chapter 2, 58ff.
[585] Obverse: Head of Venus, right; L. BVCA behind. Reverse: Sulla reclining, left; Victoria, center, Luna, right, facing Sulla. Silver denarius. Rome. *RRC* 480/1.

mural crown).[586] The affinity between Mater Magna and Tyche, and, indeed, Fortuna, might have been an association that Sulla emphasized, through his comments about Fortuna, her power in his dreams, and the visitation of Mater Magna in his dreams.

Sulla may have venerated the cult of Fortuna at Praeneste, not only because he believed that he was her favorite, but also because it was the site of death of his rival, the younger Marius in 81 BCE. Sulla may have placated the city's divinity through his contribution to the sanctuary of *lithostrota*.[587] In addition, Sulla may have assigned further constructions to M. Terentius Varro Lucullus in the "lower" sanctuary of Praeneste (*CIL* I2 742),[588] just as he delegated the reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome to Catulus.[589]

After his victory at Praeneste, Sulla also instigated the *Ludi Victoriae Sullae* in Rome. They were celebrated October 26-November 1 and recalled his victory at Porta Collina on November 1, 82 BCE. As a result of Sulla's victory at Praeneste, the setting for his slaughter of Marius and the greater part of the Praenestans, the *ludi* would have had a secondary symbolic significance through

[586] E.g., the Claudian-date relief depicting the goddess' temple, with a mural crown in the pediment: Koeppel (1983) 103, fig. 17.
[587] Pliny *N.H.* 36.189, Pollitt (1992) 107. See Champeaux (1987) 225-227, 232, Meyboom (1995).
[588] Meyboom (1995) 216 fn. 53 with bibliography.
[589] Sauron (1994) 169-248.

the "pairing" of Fortuna and Victoria.[590] Such pairing was later imitated on the Caesarian coinage of P. Sepullius Macer (44 BCE), with Victoria on the obverse and Fortuna on the reverse. Sulla's *ludi* were imitated later by Julius Caesar, the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, celebrated July 20-30, in correspondence with the dedication of the Temple of Venus Genetrix on September 26, 46 BCE. Both *ludi* appear on early imperial calendars.[591]

So famous was the event of Sulla's conquest of Praeneste that Lucan records it in his *Bellum Civile*, focusing on the Fortuna's lack of will to intervene on behalf of Marius: *Vidit Fortuna colonos/ Praenestina suos cunctos simul ense recepto/ Unius populum pereuntem tempore mortis* (II.193-195).[592] The horrific slaughter before Fortuna and Sulla's subsequent *Ludi Victoriae* clearly demonstrated to the Italians that Fortuna had abandoned the Marian faction and sided with Sulla. The image of Fortuna's abandonment to the stronger side was to appear continually, in the future competition between Lucullus and Pompey, Pompey and Julius Caesar, Mark Antony and Octavian (see below).

Sulla and Venus

590 *RRC* 421, Appian *Bell. Civ*. 1.98, Vell. Pat. 2.27.6 Hölscher (1967) 146-147, Fears (1981c) 870.
591 Wissowa (1912) 140, 456. Victoria Caesaris: Weinstock (1971) 91-112.
592 "The Fortuna of Praeneste saw all her citizens put to death at the same time, the whole population dying in the time it takes one man to die."

Sulla also fostered personal relationships with Venus, in particular Venus Felix, i.e., Venus who was conditioned by Felicitas. As a result, Fortuna acts as the link between Venus and Felicitas for Sulla's visual and religious program, and Fortuna remains an essential figure because of its far richer history and iconography than that of Felicitas. Furthermore, Sulla publicized, like Scipio Africanus, particular omens and dreams that ensured his victory, in which Fortuna prominently appeared. In Greece, Sulla made a dedication with an inscription in which he described himself as *Epaphroditus*, "favorite of Aphrodite,"[593] his patron deity. In Rome, Sulla may have established cults to Venus Felix [594] and a joint cult of Fausta Felicitas and Venus Victrix on the Capitoline.[595]

The increasing prominence of Venus in the political and religious spheres of late Republican Rome has been well documented through her associations with Sulla, Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Octavian.[596] The rise in the prominence of Venus, however, did not signify the demise of the political value and iconographical worth of Fortuna.[597] Instead, Fortuna was associated with the Late Republican generals always on a more personal level, in particular, in the domestic sphere of Lucullus, Pompey, and Julius Caesar. Their relationships with

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[593] Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans* 318D.
[594] *LTUR* (1999) L. Chioffi, "Venus Felix, aedes," V.116.
[595] *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Fausta Felicitas," III.242-243, Richardson (1992) 148, Platner and Ashby (1965) 206.
[596] E.g., Weinstock (1971) 80-90, Zanker (1988a) 195-201, Sauron (1994) 297-302, Kuttner (1995a) 22-33, Beard et al (1998) I.140-148, Champeaux (1987) 215-303.
[597] Champeaux (1987) 215-303, esp. 235 argues that the eminence of Fortuna waned in the first century BCE as Venus became a more frequent protagonist in religion and politics.

Fortuna, in both the public and domestic spheres, later influenced the goddess' role under the reign of Augustus.

In the fourth century in Megara, Tyche and Aphrodite were already associated with one another.[598] More immediate for a Roman audience, previous cults of the Roman Republic had already promoted the association between the two goddesses, providing venerable models for Sulla: Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis, April 1 (Degrassi 433-434).[599] Another close relationship existed between Venus Obsequens, whose festival was celebrated August 19 (Degrassi 497-498) and Fortuna Obsequens (just inside Porta Capena).[600] Later, the Temple of Venus Erycina,[601] founded in 184 BCE, was in the vicinity of the Tres Fortunae temple at the Porta Collina, all of which became the property of Julius Caesar, part of his Horti Caesaris (see below). These earlier, venerable associations would not have been lost on Sulla's Roman audience.

A representation of Venus found in Pompeii has iconographical features that identify it as the patron deity of the city, which probably was modeled after Sulla's Venus Felix in Rome. After Sulla had reduced Pompeii to a colony of Rome, Sulla's veterans renamed the city *Colonia Veneria Cornelia* and

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598 Pausanias, 1.43.6. Praxiteles' statue of Tyche of Megara was placed near the temple of Aphrodite.

599 *LTUR* (1999), F. Coarelli, "Venus Verticordia, aedes," V.119, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Virilis," II.280, Richardson (1992) 411, 158, Platner and Ashby (1965) 554-555, 219.

600 *LTUR* (1999), E. Papi, "Venus Obsequens, aedes ad Circum Maximum," V.118 begun in 195 BCE and completed after the Third Samnite War (Livy10.31.9). *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Obsequens, aedes," II.273, Richardson (1992) 409, 156, Platner and Ashby (1965) 552, 217.

constructed a massive temple dedicated to Venus Felix.[602] The cult statue has been identified in a first century CE wall painting on the façade of the *coactilia* (the shop of M. V. Verecundus) on the Via dell'Abbondanza (VI.IX.6/7).[603] As previously cited in Chapter 2, Venus Pompeiana holds in her right hand a rudder, the attribute of Fortuna, and, in the other, an olive branch, a common attribute of Felicitas.[604] She stands in a chariot pulled by elephants and is adorned by three erotes. To the left stands Fortuna holding a cornucopia and rudder, balanced on a sphere, and to the right stands a Genius, both of which are additions from the imperial age, according to Fortuna's iconography, as discussed in Chapter 2.[605] That Venus Pompeiana reflects a Sullan creation is acceptable because the quadriga pulled by four elephants apparently refers to Sulla's triumphal chariot, pulled by elephants, according to the ancient sources.[606] Venus' mural crown, which appears on representations of Aphrodite as early as fourth century BCE coinage, and rudder became recognizable features of city Tychai in Republican Italy, following Greek models, in particular the Tyche of Syracuse.

The wall painting reflects the affinity of Venus with Fortuna in Pompeii and Rome. Such placation of Venus, stringently tied to the rhetoric of Fortuna

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601 *LTUR* (1999), F. Coarelli, "Venus Erucina, aedes (ad Portam Collinam)," V.114-116, Richardson (1992) 408, Galinsky (1969) 178-185, Platner and Ashby (1965) 551-552.
602 Zanker (1993) 73-76 with bibliography.
603 Meyboom (1995) 354 fn. 49, Lichocka (1997) 145, 181 with bibliography.
604 Fears (1981c) 878, Ganschow (1997) 585-592.
605 For the association of Fortuna with Genius, see Chapter 5, 283ff.

(and Felicitas), as inherent qualities of the *principes*, denotes, on the one hand, the rise in prominence of the deity already accepted as the ancestress of the Romans. On the other, it reflects the associations between Venus and Fortuna that were already in existence. It does not, however, necessarily indicate the "decline" in the use of Fortuna, in comparison with Venus (as Champeaux has argued). Although Venus would become, under Julius Caesar and, especially, Augustus, the quintessential goddess of Rome, through her relationship to Aeneas and the gens Julia, she would supplement, rather than replace, the other dominant figures in Roman political iconography. Fortuna, before and after, remained prominent even when Venus signaled a change in all subsequent use of divine patronage in Roman politics. Thereafter, the role of Fortuna in art continued to increase as her role in imperial iconography stabilized and became more regularized.

The Lucullan villa on the Pincio and the cult of Fortuna

L. Licinius Lucullus, the heir designate of Sulla and guardian of Sulla's son, began his political and military career with promising prospects, but was overshadowed and finally eclipsed by Sulla's other protégé, Pompey, who

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[606] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 14 records Pompey's abortive attempt to imitate Sulla's triumphal chariot pulled by four elephants; Pompey's elephants and chariot became stuck when trying to pass through the Triumphal Gate.

essentially muscled in on Lucullus' military campaign in the East and took credit for most of the results.[607]

After amassing a fortune from his military campaigns in the East (triumphing belatedly in 63 BCE), L Licinius Lucullus withdrew from Roman politics. He became famous in antiquity through the construction of his *horti*, or extravagant villa, on the Pincio.[608] Confounded by Pompey militarily and politically, Lucullus proceeded to outdo Pompey through his excessive luxuries. Fortuna had favored Sulla over Marius, and Pompey over Lucullus. Through the construction of his villa, in imitation of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, and the other episodes recorded in Plutarch, Fortuna symbolically favored Lucullus over Pompey.

Coarelli, Cima and La Rocca, and Kuttner recently have discussed the role of art and *horti* to substantially sharpen the picture of the nature of the residences of the *nobiles* in Rome, in addition to the extent to which they assimilated religious architecture and meaning into their domestic buildings.[609] These scholars note the transformation of the competition among the *principes* in the fields of politics and military achievement into a public and private display of his acquired wealth. Lucullus' villa, along the slope of the hill, with temple, theater, and portico, mimicked some of the essential characteristics of the great Italic

[607] Keaveney (1992), Sherwin-White (1994) 229-273.
[608] Plut., *Lucull.*, 39, 41, Pollitt (1992) 83.

sanctuaries of Italy– Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste and Hercules Victor in Tivoli– as well as Hellenistic palatial constructions and the constructions of past prominent Roman statesmen, such as Scipio Aemilianus.[610] Lucullus' *horti* were one of the clearest and earlier examples in Rome of the Roman patron making his house not just into a imitation of a temple proper with luxurious materials, but rather of an entire sanctuary. According to the seminal study of Coarelli, Lucullus' villa is an excellent example of domestic architecture, which exceeded the norms of the Republic and set the standard for the combination of domestic and sacral architectural elements.[611] The end result in Rome would be the imperial *horti* as much as the Augustan complex on the Palatine, followed by imperial residences such as the Domus Aurea and Domitian's Palace in Rome.[612]

Much of the evidence for Coarelli's study of the complex, however, is based on the sixteenth–century drawings of Pirro Ligorio, whose accuracy is questionable in view of the recent French excavations on the ridge between the Villa Medici and Trinità dei Monti.[613] Except for the few, general literary references to the Republican phase of the villa (e.g., Plut., *Lucull.* 42.2), few

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609 Coarelli (1983), reprinted in Coarelli (1996) 327-343, La Rocca (1986) 3-35, Cima and La Rocca (1998), Kuttner (1998) 93-107. See new considerations and definition of *horti* in Purcell (2001) 546-556.

610 Coarelli (1996) 335-338, La Rocca (1986) 3-35, esp. 5, 21-22.

611 Coarelli (1996) 327-343.

612 La Rocca (1986) 3-35.

613 In contrast to Coarelli (1983), see the most recent excavations of the French Academy: Broise and Jolivet (1998) 189-202 and *LTUR* (1996) H. Broise and V. Jolivet, "Horti Lucullani," III.67-70, (1999) V.266, which have found almost no constructions dating to the middle of the first century BCE. Instead, most of the waterworks and buildings belong to the first century CE.

archaeological remains justify Coarelli's reconstruction, despite early promising excavations in the area.[614] Instead, the excavators Broise and Jolivet have revealed that the majority of the structure that has come to light is Julio-Claudian in date. Not only do the recent excavations challenge Coarelli's study, but the Julio-Claudian edifice is on axis with the Mausoleum of Augustus (Chapter 4, 231ff.), one of the new focal points of the Campus Martius, introducing an entirely new phase in the history of the reputed *horti*. In addition, it is the conclusion of the excavators that the sixteenth–century drawing is not just inaccurate but false, in the sense that it reproduces sections from the sanctuary of Fortuna in Praeneste.[615] The orientation of the remains on the Julio-Claudian monument and the lack of late Republican remains has led the excavators to doubt the veracity of the passages in Plutarch regarding the sumptuousness of the Republican villa.[616]

In addition, only after the *horti* became part of Agrippa's or Messalla's landholdings did Agrippa construct the Aqua Virgo in 19 BCE, cascading down the side of the Pincio hill. The association between the residence and the arches of the aqueduct must have been prominent since Frontinus locates the residence next to the arches (*aq*. 22.2). This is another indication that the villa famed in antiquity was the imperial–dated villa on axis with the Mausoleum of Augustus

614 Cited in Coarelli (1993) 335, fn. 27.
615 *LTUR* (1995) H. Broise, V. Jolivet, "Horti Lucullani," III.67-70.

and employed the aqueduct of Agrippa to create its ostentatious nymphaeum-triclinia.

These observations and the imperial date of the remains of the *horti* of Lucullus suggest that the villa was constructed, *ex novo*, on the site of the Republican villa, of which few Republican remains are extant. Although this imperial-dated villa was constructed in response to the Mausoleum of Augustus, much of the ancient material still supports the presence of a cult of Fortuna in the extra-mural residence (before Augustus reorganized the city into fourteen regions, including the villa in Region seven).

The now–questionable sixteenth-century drawings first revealed a system of terraces, capped with what has been identified as a small round temple, very similar to the sanctuary of Fortuna in Praeneste. It had been assumed that the temple was likewise dedicated to Fortuna.[617] As Coarelli has shown, Lucullus' brother is known to have participated in some constructions in the lower sanctuary in the Praeneste (*ILLRP* 369a). In addition, almost one hundred years earlier Lucullus' grandfather had constructed the first Temple of Felicitas (possibly coinciding with the *dies natalis* of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the

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[616] Ibid. Plut., *Lucull*. 42.2. If Plutarch, who was in Rome by at least the reign of Domitian, as discussed in Chapter 2, saw the *horti Lucullani*, he principally would have seen the imperial-dated structures, rather than the Republican-dated phase that he wrote about.

[617] Coarelli (1996) 327-343. Recently, Broise and Jolivet (2000) have identified the so-called temple as an imperial-period tomb.

Capitoline), thereby demonstrating that a solid familial link already existed with the Fortuna cult.[618]

Given the legacy of the *horti*, which retained their original title throughout the imperial period, when they became an imperial residence, Coarelli has countered that most of the Republican remains must have been erased by later construction. In addition, the recent discovery of an inscription dedicated to Fortuna Bona Salutaris (*CIL* VI 184), according to Coarelli, seems to have confirmed the location of a Fortuna temple in the vicinity of the Republican residence, if not part of it. Broise and Jolivet agree that the villa was always associated with a cult of Fortuna, but they hypothesize the existence of the dual temple of Spes and Fortuna on the hill (cited in the Regional Catalogues of the seventh Region).[619] In either case, both the Republican and imperial phases of the villa would have been associated with a cult of Fortuna.

Other examples strongly link Lucullus to the cult of Fortuna, as part of the political rhetoric of the day, used by contemporaries Pompey and Sulla (discussed above). Indeed, Sulla dedicated his *Memoirs* to Lucullus (6.6), in which he cites Fortuna as the guarantor of his success.

Lucullus also fostered a strong tie between Fortuna and Venus (Plut., *Lucull*. 12.1), the other essential goddess in late Republican politics, after Sulla

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618 Coarelli (1996) 337, *LTUR*(1995) D. Palombi, "Felicitas, aedes," II.244-245.

619 Temple of Fortuna and Spes: *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna, templum novum," II.267, LTUR (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna (Tyche euelpis)," II.269, *LTUR* (1999) H. Broise, V. Jolivet, "Horti Lucullani,"V.265-267.

had venerated the two goddesses together. L. Lucullus commissioned the sculptor Arkesilaos to create a cult statue of Felicitas, which was apparently left incomplete (Pliny *N.H.*36.155-156, Suet. *Caesar* 37, Dio 43.21.1). Julius Caesar is not known to have commissioned a statue of Fortuna, but he did ask the same sculptor to create a cult statue of Venus Genetrix, whose predecessor, the Sullan Venus Felix, had close ties with Felicitas and Fortuna.

The villa could have also have exhibited the personal taste and fancy of the owner. He may have wished to employ such architectural delights for a difficult topographical situation, in order to echo familial ties to Fortuna cult in Rome; Lucullus' relatives already had participated in the cults of Fortuna and Felicitas in Rome and Praeneste. The imitation of sacral architecture adopted for profane use contemporary with Lucullus' Republican villa was of particular interest to late Republican *nobiles*. Indeed, the architecture of the Catulus' temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei caught the fancy of Varro, who reproduced its configuration of round temple and porticoes for his aviary.[620]

In conclusion, the Republican material, which describes a luxurious villa in an unknown form, suggests that a cult to Fortuna was in the vicinity of, if not incorporated into, the property of the villa. A second cult of Fortuna may have been associated with the property in the imperial period. The villa's excavated remains confirm that an architectural relationship existed between the villa and

[620] Coarelli (1996) 335-338, La Rocca (1986) 20-22, Sauron (1994) 141-151.

the Augustan building program, in the form of the Mausoleum of Augustus, only after the villa already had become imperial property.

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus[621]

In assuming the mantle of the most powerful individual in Rome after Sulla's retirement, Pompey created a symbolic, rhetorical response to Sulla's designated successor, Lucullus. Pompey included, in his massive theater complex four shrines, to Honos, Virtus, Victoria, and Felicitas, in addition to a temple of Venus Victrix. The shrine of Felicitas contrasted with Lucullus' past familial association with the Temple of Felicitas as well as Lucullus' guardianship over Sulla's son Faustus. Many other features of the theater complex, to be examined below, further proclaim Pompey's strong tie to Fortuna, as Sulla's rightful heir.

In 66 BCE, Cicero's speech *Pro Lege Manilia* marks an interesting turn in the development of Fortuna in Rome[622] because he argued that Pompey possessed the four prerequisite qualities of the successful general: *scientia rei militaris,*

621 Historical background: Gagé (1933) 35-43, Seager (1979), Greenhalgh (1980), Champeaux (1987) 236-259, 237 fn. 102, Seager (1994) 208-228, Sherwin-White (1994) 229-273, Wiseman (1994) 327-367, esp. 358-367, Wiseman (1994) 368-423.
622 Fears (1981a) 797-800.

virtus, *auctoritas*, and *felicitas*. According to Cicero, Pompey now represented the Fortuna of the people of Rome.[623]

According to Cicero, Felicitas depended upon Fortuna; therefore, the orator favorably compared Pompey to the group of prominent Romans who had found Fortuna's favor: Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio Africanus, and Marius (47).[624] This canon-like list confirms the standardized role of Fortuna in late Republican politics and solidifies Pompey's association with important Roman statesmen and generals.

In 49 BCE, the moneyer Q. Sicinius, a partisan of Pompey, issued the first extant Roman numismatic depiction of any Fortuna in 49 BCE, a silver denarius.[625] On the obverse, the diademed head of Fortuna Populi Romani looks right, in the background, the inscription FORT-PR. On the reverse are depicted a filleted palm-branch, caduceus, and wreath, with the inscription Q SICINIVS (above) and III-VIR (across the field below). The palm-branch, caduceus, and wreath represent the good fortune and luck that the Fortuna Publici Romani had bestowed upon Pompey and would continue to bestow upon him in his upcoming battle with Julius Caesar.

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623 Cic., *Pro Lege Manilia* 45.

624 Although, according to Sulla, Fortuna played a prominent role in his life, he is noticeably absent from Cicero's list.

625 Sear (1998) 5 #1, *RRC* 440, Sydenham 938, *BMCRR* 3947, Babelon Sicinia 5. For a similar type: Similar obverse: Sear (1998) 194, #318, M. Arrivus Secundus' gold aureus, Rome, 41 BCE. *RRC* 513/1; Sydenham 1083; *BMCRR* 4209; Babelon Arria 1.

This new attribution of the Fortuna Publici Romani to Pompey's own personal Fortuna marks, in effect, the focus away from the state of Rome and recognizes the presence of demi-god generals in Rome.[626] Pompeius Magnus styled himself as a new Alexander,[627] and Cicero's rhetoric recalls the language of the Hellenistic panegyrists, paving the way for Roman godhead on earth.

Pompey's Theater and residences

The theater complex that Pompey constructed in the Campus Martius in 55 BCE [which underwent many restorations, including Augustus' in 32 BCE (*RG* 20)], was a remarkable monument, the first permanent stone theater in Rome.[628] The complex included an orchard of plane trees surrounded by porticos; at the extreme ends were located the theater (West) and a curia (East) in which the Senate was invited to convene.[629] in the vicinity were Pompey's *horti* and house.[630] The theater contained four small shrines to Felicitas, Honos, Virtus, and

[626] Cf. Hölscher (1993) 52-74, 137-173.
[627] E.g., *imitatio Alexandri*: the portraiture of Pompey discussed in Kleiner (1992) 42-44.
[628] Asconius in *Cic. Pis.* 1, Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.20; Dio 39.38.1-6. Sauron (1987) 457-473, Sauron (1988) 48-67, Sauron (1994) 249-314, Richardson (1992) 384-385, Coarelli (1997) 539-580, *LTUR* (1999) P. Gros, "Theatrum Pompei," V.35-38, Kuttner (1999a) 343-373.
[629] Gleason (1990) 4-13, Gleason (1994) 13-27, Kuttner (1999a) 343-377.
[630] LTUR (1996) V. Jolivet, "Horti Pompeiani," III.78-79, Richardson (1992) 201, Kuttner (1999a) 343-377.

Victoria,[631] in addition to a central temple dedicated to Venus Victrix, located at the top of the cavea.

Pompey's architectural complex, filled with Asiatic plane trees and statuary,[632] was a Mouseion, like the Porticus of Metellus,[633] both of which imitated Hellenistic Greek complexes in Alexandria and, especially, Pergamon, which had residential palaces in the vicinity of libraries, temples, and museums.[634] In addition, the Theater complex mimicked the essential features of the important sanctuaries of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and Hercules Victor at Tivoli, each with porticoes, theater, and temple.[635] The strong influence of Alexandrian and Pergamene architecture would be present in the later building campaigns of Agrippa and Augustus in the Campus Martius.[636]

Coarelli has already gone so far as to attribute the orientation and location of the entire complex to its proximity to the Via Triumphalis,[637] in addition to its utilization of the façade created by the four Republican temples in Largo Argentina. The theater complex also included a house of Pompey, which was described as a small boat in tow to the complex.[638] The association of Pompey's house with the sanctuary of many gods would have had major political and

[631] Fast. Amit., Allif., 13 August; Degrassi 493-494; cf. Suetonius, *Claud*. 21.1.
[632] Kuttner (1999) 343-377.
[633] *LTUR* (1999) A. Viscogliosi, "Porticus Metelli," IV.130-132.
[634] Kuttner (1995b) 157-178, Kuttner (1999a) 345-350, Coarelli (1997) 484, La Rocca (1986) 3-35.
[635] La Rocca (1986) 3-35.
[636] Chapter 4, 224ff.
[637] Coarelli (1988) 363-413, (1997) 118-135.

symbolic ramifications.[639] Not only was Pompey endowed with certain qualities and special relationships with the gods through his dedication of four shrines and a temple to Venus within the theater complex, but he also co-habited with them, through the location of his home in close proximity to the theater. Perhaps Pompey was imitating Lucullus' villa, which may have incorporated a cult of Fortuna in the property (see above), before Augustus constructed the sanctuary of Apollo next to his house on the Palatine. Indeed, Pompey's entire Mouseion, as previously mentioned, imitated the citadel of the Pergamenes, which included a palace of the Attalids in proximity to the theater, library, and Temple of Athena Nikephoros.

The aura of the temple complex and its shrines was further heightened through their vicinity to two temples of Fortuna in the area: the Temple of Fortuna Equestris and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei. The association of these two Fortuna temples, in addition to the cults in the theater complex to Pompey's house not only solidified Pompey's image as a Roman dynast emulating Hellenistic kings but also promoted a link with Rome's venerable past, and the intimate relationship between Servius Tullius and Fortuna, who cohabited together in Servius' house.

Although the exact location of the Republican Temple of Fortuna Equestris is unknown, literary sources (e.g., Vitr. 3.3.2) always place it near the

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638 Plut., *Pomp*. 40.9.

theater.[640] The Fortuna Huiusce Diei, formed, with the three other Republican temples of the area sacra of Largo Argentina, the façade of the Eastern end of the theater complex; indeed, recent study reveals that the entire Pompeian complex is oriented on the long axis extending tangentially from the temple.[641] Catulus had created a link between the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei and the Porticus Minucia. Pompey was placed in charge of the annona (*cura annonae*) in 57 BCE, as previously noted. Therefore, the Temple of Fortuna acts as a symbolic link between the Porticus Minucia and Pompey's complex, underlining Pompey's role in the security of the transportation of grain to Rome and distribution of the grain in Rome. Although the idea and cult of Fortuna were already part of the theater complex through its association with the cult of Felicitas,[642] the other two Fortuna temples more clearly underlined the importance of the cult of Fortuna to Pompey, his personal residence, and his manubial monument.

The cult of Fortuna is also present Pompey's residence on the Carinae,[643] known as his *domus rostrata* (Cic., *Har. Resp*. 49, Suet., *Gramm*. 15, Florus 2.18.4).[644] Here, Pompey may have promoted a more personal relationship with Fortuna. An inscription (*ILS* 3308) and statue were dedicated by freedmen from

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639 La Rocca (1986) 18.
640 *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Equestris, aedes," II. 268-269, Coarelli (1997) 268-275
641 Gleason (1999) 17. Area Sacra of Largo Argentina, synopsis in Claridge (1998) 215-219. Fortuna Huiusce Diei: *LTUR* (1995) P. Gros, "Fortuna Huiusce Diei, aedes," II.269-270, Coarelli (1997) 275-293.
642 Coarelli (1997) 570.
643 Carinae: Richardson (1992) 71-72, *LTUR* (1993) E. Rodriguez Almeida, "Carinae," I.239-240.

his household in 12 CE to the shrine of Fortuna Stata within the confines of his residence.[645] Pompey superseded Sulla's cultivation of Fortuna cult in Rome by placing his two residences in Rome in close proximity to specific cults of Fortuna, recalling Servius Tullius' intimate relationship with Fortuna, the fruits of which were the several Fortuna shrines throughout the city attributed to Servius.

Julius Caesar[646] and the Fortuna Caesaris[647]

Julius Caesar, the next dominant Roman general, honored Venus as had his predecessors, but advanced the association even further, since his family, the *gens Julia*, traced back its ancestry to her through the Trojan Aeneas. In fact, Julius Caesar strongly promoted his ancestry to Venus and the kings of Rome through a funerary speech to his aunt (Suet., *Divus Iulius* 6), exerted influence on the issue of the divinization of Romulus (Cic., *De Re Publica* 2.20, Livy 1.16), and constructed a forum dedicated to Venus Genetrix.[648] Venus' prominence was subsequently promoted by Augustus who solidified the goddess' role in Rome's

644 Domus Pompei: Richardson (1992)133, *LTUR* (1995) V. Jolivet, "Domus Pompeiorum," II.159-160.
645 *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Stata," II.278. For an alternate interpretation of this inscription, see Richardson (1992) 157.
646 For historical background: Gelzer (1968), Meier (1982), Will (1992), Rawson (1994) 424-467, 468-490, Griffin (1994) 689-728.
647 Warde Fowler (1903), Tapan (1931-1932), Ericsson (1944), Erkell (1952) 160-162, Friedrich (1954), Brutscher (1958), Bickel (1960), Bömer (1966), Weinstock (1971) 112-127, Champeaux (1987) 259-291, 260 fn. 229.

destiny and imperial politics, eventually resulting in the construction of the massive Hadrianic Temple of Venus and Roma in Rome.[649]

Although Julius Caesar himself does not provide any direct evidence in his writings for worshipping Fortuna,[650] he prominently included her in his repertoire of patron deities, following Sulla and Pompey. Indeed, the iconography of Fortuna was further developed under his rule, as we have seen on the coinage of P. Sepullius Macer (44 BCE). In addition, Julius Caesar, pontifex maximus, and to whom Varro dedicated his multi-volume study on Roman religion, seems to have created a "mystique" surrounding his relationship with Fortuna.[651] This is a very important concept, in the sense that there appears in the literary record, during and after Caesar's lifetime, a real attempt, in several instances, to underline a special relationship between Fortuna and Caesar.[652] By no means was this development in Fortuna's role central to Julius Caesar's intentions of demi-god status, but, rather, one of many avenues of contribution that resulted in the

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[648] See Weinstock (1971) passim. For general information on the Forum Iulium, see *LTUR* (1995) C. Morselli, "Forum Iulium," II.299-307.

[649] Venus in late Republican and early Augustan politics: fn. 648; Galinsky (1996) 148-149, 321. Temple of Venus and Rome: *LTUR* (1999) A. Cassatella, "Venus et Roma, aedes, templum," V.121-123.

[650] This topic remains under discussion: Champeaux (1987) 259-291. See also Tappan (1927); Fowler (1903); Weinstock (1971) 112-127, Kajanto (1981) 537-538. As underlined by Kajanto, much of the disagreement centers on the meaning of Fortuna in Caesar's *Commentarii*. Kajanto sees no examples of Fortuna as a fickle deity or in the role as personal patronness of Caesar. For the opposite interpretation, see Champeaux.

[651] Weinstock (1971) 112-127, Champeaux (1987) 259.

[652] Florus 2.13.37, Dio 41.46.3, Plut., *Caes*. 38.5, *Fort Rom*. 6.319c-d, *Reg. Et imp. Apopht. Caes*. 9.206d, Appian *BC* 2.57, 2, 150, Zonaras 10.8.

creation of the cult of divus Iulius.[653] This is not a new concept if we recall Republican generals' standard dream revelations, Scipio's communication with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Marius' personal soothsayer (Plu, *Marius* 17), Sulla's dreams of Mater Magna, and the more venerable models in the Sicilian Timoleon and Roman kings' consorts: Numa's Egeria and, more striking, Fortuna, who had a personal relationship Servius Tullius.

However, Julius Caesar, if anything, appears more sincere than he has been given credit, in that he projected the idea of his uncanny luck through all his trials and tribulations with consistency.[654] Caesar appears closer to Sulla's attitude to Fortuna, from what we know about his lost *Memoirs*, than to Pompey's more straight forward use of the goddess, which we can discern through the voice of Cicero and context of Pompey's residences.

In addition to Caesar's self-professed belief in his personal luck is a series of encounters with Fortuna that added to the legend of Caesar as well as the prominence of Fortuna. In his own commentaries, as well as letters to Cicero, Fortuna appears as a consistent figure rather than a generic notion.[655] The famous sea crossing, which records Caesar in the company of Fortuna, appears to have acquired further meaning and various traditions over the course of the first century CE, leaving ancient and modern scholars perplexed and divided as to the

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653 Weinstock (1971) passim.

654 Caesar, *BG*, 6.30.2, *BC* 3.68.1, and the remark in Cic., *prov. cons*. 35: *Quare sit in eius tutela Gallia, cuius fidei, virtuti, felicitati commendata est. Qui si Fortunae muneribus amplissimis ornatus saepius eius deae periculum facere nollet.*

exact meaning and intention.[656] The cult to Felicitas Caesaris (Dio 44.5.2), possibly vowed as a temple after the formulation of the battle cry for the encounter in Thapsus in 46 BCE, demonstrates continued interest in the cult of Fortuna, since Felicitas always depended upon the presence of Fortuna.

Such are largely the observations of S. Weinstock.[657] As a result of Caesar's interest in the cult of Fortuna, Weinstock concludes that Caesar created a new cult of Fortuna Caesaris, possibly when he vowed a sacrifice to Fortuna, instead of Jupiter before setting out for Rome in 49 BCE.[658] Much information in the later Greek historians, such as Dio, Appian, and Plutarch, who refer to the Fortuna of Caesar, may have been partial to the immediate comparisons with Alexander the Great's legendary luck.[659] However, as cited above, there is enough evidence in contemporary writers of Caesar's own day, including Cicero and Caesar himself, that suggest that such references to Fortuna go beyond generic statements. Therefore, with so much concrete evidence for Caesar's interest in Fortuna, in addition to the construction of the temple of Felicitas, we may justifiably ascertain the creation of some new cult to Fortuna in Rome, further influenced by the intervention of Augustus at the end of the first century

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655 Fn. 654. Kajanto (1981) 537-538.

656 Fn. 652. The account of Caesar, accompanied and protected by Fortuna, during a storm at sea remains at the center of the scholarly debate on Caesar's Fortuna. Weinstock (1971) 121-126, Kajanto (1981) 537, Champeaux (1987) 259-291.

657 For a review of Weinstock (1971), see North (1975) 171-177. More recently, see Beard et al. (1998) I.140-149.

658 Weinstock (1971) 113-129.

659 Champeaux (1987) 259-291.

BCE. Indeed, recent study suggests that, in addition to the construction of the Temple of Felicitas in the Roman forum, there may have been another Caesarian temple dedicated to Caesar's Fortuna.[660]

The quintessential goddess of triumphant generals, Victoria was one of the most important goddesses in both the Republican and imperial periods.[661] For a late Republican example, as previously discussed, the obverse of P. Sepullius Macer's coin (44 BCE) depicts a bust of winged Victoria and the reverse shows Fortuna; both goddesses were personal companions and protectors of Julius Caesar.

According to Weinstock, the rudder iconography of Fortuna on the coin was Caesar's invention,[662] but this argument is not valid since, as discussed in Chapter 2, 79, the rudder was a late third century development in Greek coinage, first appearing on the Syracusan coin of 212 BCE, becoming an extremely popular representation in the second century BCE in the Greek East and West. The rudder and the cornucopia, separately, were symbols of the maritime power of Fortuna and represented her role in the supply of grain (as witnessed in Catulus' Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei).

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660 Chapter 4, 250ff.: Temple of Bonus Eventus (associated with Felicitas) in the Campus Martius, conceived (or initiated) by Julius Caesar, completed by Augustus. Temple of Felicitas in the forum: Dio 43.21.1, 44.5.2. Weinstock (1971) 117-8, 127. The symbolic value of the construction of the Temple of Felicitas, begun in 47 BCE over the remains of the Curia Hostilia, is clear, and would have composed part of Caesar's initial program in the Roman forum. See *LTUR* (1995) E. Tortorici, "Felicitas, naos," II.245-246, Richardson (1992) 150.

661 Hölscher (1967), Fears (1981c), Kuttner (1995a) 149-151.

It is true, however, that this Roman coin marks the first time Fortuna was depicted in this fashion in Rome, a reflection of the growing importance of Fortuna in Roman politics. Indeed, the appearance of Fortuna with a rudder and cornucopia marks a new expression of the power and role of Fortuna in the life of Julius Caesar and her important role in ensuring the Victoria of Caesar (depicted on the obverse of the coin) in the future Parthian expedition.[663] Furthermore, the appearance of the coin marks, "a most important moment in religious history,"[664] whereby the Fortuna of the Republic, with all of her complex, layered significance in political, religious and social circumstances, falls under the domain of Caesar in Rome. Thus, the mural crown was not used on the Roman coin because it was not meant to depict a city Tyche (as, for example, the Sullan Venus Pompeiana), but rather the personal Fortuna of Caesar.

A victorious Caesar underlined his association with Fortuna and Victoria in the spirit of past Republican generals through his vow to create a temple to Felicitas and through the creation of a new Roman coinage type, depicting Victoria and Fortuna. In addition, before his death, Caesar made Romans swear by his genius, an action which was equal to the Greeks' swearing by a monarch's

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[662] Weinstock (1971) 124. In a review of Weinstock (1971), North (1975) 174 agrees with Weinstock's observation.
[663] North (1975) 174. The Parthian-Fortuna association was prominent in the imperial period, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, 302ff.
[664] Ibid., 174.

tyche.[665] The association between Fortuna and genius would be further strengthened in the Augustan period (Chapter 5, 283ff.).

Julius Caesar's gardens and the role of Fortuna

The *horti* were the symbol of the late Republican dynast, which imitated Hellenistic Greek architectural precedents.[666] Caesar, in his bid for power, tried to outstrip his rival, Pompey, by recourse to as many building projects and gardens as political maneuverings. Like Pompey, (and possibly Lucullus), Julius Caesar also demonstrated his affinity for Fortuna through the strategic planning and location for two *horti* in Rome.

His residence on the Quirinal, in the Via Veneto area, the future site of the Gardens of Sallust, apparently encompassed the area around the Porta Collina, which contained three temples of Fortuna Publica as well as the Temple of Venus Erycina.[667] Construction of his *horti* in the vicinity of both goddesses evoked political messages of his ancestry to Venus as well as his particular relationship with Fortuna.[668] In addition, Dio (42.26.3), states that in 47 BCE lightning struck the Temple of Fortuna Publica and the *horti Caesaris*, and that the temple doors opened up and blood flowed to the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens. Akin to the

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665 Taylor (1931) 67. Weinstock (1971) 204-214.
666 La Rocca (1986) 3-35.
667 *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Horti Caesaris (ad Portam Collinam)," III.55, Richardson (1992) 197.
668 Talamo (1998) 137-8.

topographical record, which placed the Theater of Pompey next to the Temple of Fortuna Equestris, Dio's report also indicates the proximity of the Temple of Fortuna Publica to Caesar's residence. In addition, the discovery of inscriptions in the area recording the consecration of the area has led to the theory that they refer to the aforementioned prodigies, just mentioned.[669] If this is correct, then Augustus may have followed Julius Caesar's precedent when he consecrated land on the Palatine struck by lightning (which happened to be located next to his house) to Apollo.

The exact location of Caesar's Transtiberim *horti* is more uncertain due to the state of our inadequate knowledge of the topography.[670] Tacitus recorded that Tiberius bequeathed a temple of Fors Fortuna to the public in 17 CE in the gardens that Caesar had bequeathed to the public (Tacitus, *Ann*. 2.42.1). Such a designation was appropriate given Caesar's affinity for Fortuna as well as the *horti*'s apparent proximity to other, venerable cults of Fors Fortuna, possibly dating to the regal period (Varro, *Ling*. 6.17, Dion. Hal. 4.27.7).

Both *horti* were not necessarily located solely to create associations between owner and the Fortuna cults. However, since Caesar's domestic space coincided with the sacral architecture of the cults of Fortuna and Caesar had fostered a personal rapport with Fortuna, they promoted the special, intimate bond between Caesar and Fortuna, which would be perpetuated in the imperial period.

669 Talamo (1998) 114-115.

Through his subsequent dedication of a Temple of Fors Fortuna in the *Horti Caesaris Trans Tiberim*, Tiberius proclaimed his own good luck[671] through his relationship with both Julius Caesar and Servius Tullius, both Fortuna's favorites.

Mark Antony and Octavian, vying for the Fortuna Caesaris

The activities of Caesar left Mark Antony and Octavian with a legacy of Fortuna, both of whom promoted her to a yet more prominent status in late Republican politics and religion. For example, they began the regularization of depictions of Fortuna on coins. In each case, Fortuna did not remain a standard image, but a deity whom each leader wanted as his personal patronness, tied to specific events.

Mark Antony and Octavian reproduced the obverse of Sepullius Macer's Fortuna coin and also created a new type, of Fortuna holding Victoria, related to the Sepullian coin (depicting, as we have noted, Victoria on the obverse and Fortuna on the reverse). The reasons were many: to associate themselves

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670 *LTUR* (1996) E. Papi, "Horti Caesaris (Trans Tiberim)," III.55-56, Richardson (1992) 197.
671 The Senate dedicated a statue of Felicitas to Tiberius in Fundi, his birthplace (Suet., *Tib*., 5). Discussion of the "Sheath of Tiberius," which includes in its decoration a shield inscribed FELICITAS TIBERII: Kuttner (1995a) 187-189, 296-297 nn. 49 (bibliography)– 53.

thematically and symbolically with Caesar as well as to promote a sense of continuity from his rule to that of the second triumvirate.

In 42 BCE, Gaius Vibius Varus minted a silver denarius with a bearded Mark Antony on the obverse, with the inscription, C VIBIVS (behind the portrait) and VARVS (before the portrait). On the reverse, Fortuna stands, holding a statue of Victoria balanced on a globe on her extended right hand, cornucopia in her left.[672] Contemporaneously, Varus also minted in 42 BCE a silver denarius, with a bare-headed Octavian on the obverse, and, on the reverse, the same image of Fortuna holding a statue of Victoria and cornucopia (with the inscription C VIBIVS VARVS).[673] The occasion for the minting could have been the official deification of Julius Caesar or the defeat (and suicide) of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi.

In early 41 BCE, possibly in commemoration of the consulship of Lucius, Mark Antony's brother, a series of coins were minted, depicting, on the obverse, a bare-headed Mark Antony, with a lituus behind, and the inscription (around): M ANTONIUS IMP III VIR R P C. On the reverse: the Fortuna Caesaris, sometimes with the inscription PIETAS- COS (across the field).[674] The caption,

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[672] Sear (1998) 97 #149, *RRC* 494/32, Sydenham 1144, *BMCRR* 4293, Babelon Antonia 26; Cohen 4.
[673] Sear (1998) 102 #158, *RRC* 494/33, Sydenham 1145, *BMCRR* p. 588, Type ii var., Cohen 539.
[674] Sear (1998) 156-157, #237, *RRC* 516/4, Sydenham 1171, 1171a, *BMCRR* Gaul 65, 66, Babelon Antonia 45, Newman 41.13, Cohen 78. Sear (1998) 157 #238, *RRC* 516/5, Sydenham 1172, *BMCRR* Gaul 67, 68, Babelon Antonia 46, Newman 41.14, Cohen 79. Sear (1998) 157 #239, *RRC* 516/3, Newman 41.12, RSC/Cohen 77a. The first coin is a gold aureus, the second

pietas, reflects Lucius' fraternal loyalty to his brother, in the East, prior to or during the outbreak of the Perusine War. Furthermore, the addition of the legend *pietas* to the coin indicates the reverence that Mark Antony publicly proclaims and exhibits, not just to his brother Lucius, but also Caesar, with whom the image of Fortuna originated in Rome.

This coin was followed by that of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who in 40 BCE minted a gold aureus, depicting a bare-headed Octavian, with slight beard on the obverse, and the same image of Fortuna, standing and holding a rudder and cornucopia.[675] Octavian's intentions were different, possibly connected with the conclusion of the Perusine War, which marked the defeat of Antony's partisans, including Lucius, in addition to a promotion of the Fortuna Caesaris.[676] In addition, the choice of Fortuna may have been a reference to Praeneste, where Octavian's forces won an important victory over Lucius' forces. More precisely, the coin may be a harsh comment on Lucius' previous statement of fraternal pietas toward his brother through the same image of Fortuna; now the image and Fortuna's support belonged to Octavian, the coin of 40 BCE proclaimed. Such visual symbolism is not rare in Republican politics.[677]

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two, silver denarii. The coins were part of the military mint traveling with Mark Antony when in the East.

[675] Sear (1998) 198 #325, *RRC* 525/1, Sydenham 1126, *BMCRR* 4313, Babelon Sempronia 12, Cohen 522. Gold aureus, Rome.

[676] Galinsky (1996) 114.

[677] E.g., Ludi Victoriae after Sulla's defeat of the younger Marius and his forces at Praeneste. One of the more explicit examples on the coinage of Sextus Pompey who uses the image of Aeneas to mock his political rival Octavian. See the discussion in Zanker (1988a) 39-41.

The nearly contemporaneous appearance of Fortuna on both coinages also recalls the visually advertised struggle for power between Mark Antony and Octavian.[678] The repetition of Fortuna on their coinages echoes literary testimonia about the leaders' relationships with Fortuna. Plutarch remarked in his treatise *On the Fortune of the Romans* (7/319e-320a) and the *Life of Antony* 33 (930d-e) that in the game of dice Octavian always defeated Antony; this game, which depends on pure chance, demonstrates the superiority of one to the other in life. Likewise (Plut., *de fort. Rom*. 320A), a friend knowledgeable in divination warned Antony that although his status, prestige, and experience in war were greater than those of Octavian, he should pay attention since Octavian's Fortuna was so powerful that Antony's was immediately obeisant.

The competition between the late Republican dynasts for securing Fortuna's blessing (along with those of other standard Roman divinities, e.g., Victoria and Venus) became a standardized feature of late Republican politics. Mark Antony and Octavian's vying for Fortuna had been preceded, as we have noted, by Fortuna abandoning Marius for Sulla, abandoning Lucullus for Pompey, Pompey for Julius Caesar, an important image to control, in religious and political contexts.

These notices about the Fortunae of Mark Antony and Octavian indicate Fortuna's influential role in their fate and in daily lives, similar to the notice about

[678] Zanker (1988a) 33-77.

Valeria and Sulla and to the Graeco-Roman popular belief of the power of one's luck. Pompey and Lucullus seem to have tapped into models from the Greek East and Roman traditions, such as that of Servius Tullius' Fortuna, for the creation of domestic spaces close to spaces consecrated to Fortuna. Julius Caesar fostered his own personal relationship with Fortuna. The concept of winning Fortuna's favor was not lost after Octavian's victory. Indeed honoring Fortuna was one of Octavian's first monuments, after his victory in Actium (see the dedication of the bronze statuary group of Nikon and Eutychus in Actium in Chapter 4). Furthermore, the Roman emperors continued to consult the popular oracle of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste.[679]

A marble dedication also indicates the lengths to which the partisans of Mark Antony went in venerating the image and cult of Fortuna for symbolic value. A fragment of an impressive three-sided relief block of Luna marble (0.74 x 1.10 x 0.40), which was part of a large monument, was found in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste. Two rows of armed soldiers (heads restored) stand on a trireme, decorated with a crocodile on the prow. The remains of a second ship are seen to the far right. On the left (short) side of the block is a man on a horse. The scenes are identified as land and naval parade. Recently, it has been discovered that the marble block was originally located in the Colombella, the Archaic and Republican necropolis of the city and was

[679] E.g., Suet., *Tib*. 63, *Dom*. 15.

therefore a funerary monument.[680] Parallels for such funerary reliefs exist in the Augustan age, the most noteworthy of which is the tomb of *C. Cartilius Poplicola* in Ostia.[681]

Hölscher has convincingly argued for a dating of 37-32 BCE.[682] The ship represented is part of Antony's Alexandrian fleet (identified by the crocodile depicted on the prow), and the side view, of troops and cavalry, together make up part of a military parade. Three further pieces of evidence confirm that the piece is late Republican and not imperial. It is known that Antony's brother, Lucius, made an aborted last stand against Octavian's forces, in a bid for Rome; the choice of Praeneste indicates not just a strategic choice but also one of important political contacts. Furthermore, the crocodile helps date the dedication to after 37 (when Antony goes to Alexandria, forming an alliance with Cleopatra).[683] Finally, the style of the figures is, according to Hölscher and Liverani, not yet part of the "programmatic classicism" of the Augustan age.

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[680] Liverani (2000) 181, with recent bibliography.

[681] M. Floriani Squarciapino, *Scavi di Ostia* (1958) 192-207, figs. 39-43.

[682] Hölscher (1988) 363 cat. 198.

[683] Another symbolic link exists between the monument and the cult of Fortuna in Praeneste. The depiction of the cavalry and naval parade that took place in Alexandria also recalls Cleopatra's symbolic role in Ptolemaic Egypt as Isis, often depicted with the accoutrements of Fortuna (i.e., rudder and cornucopia). The merger of the imagery of Isis and Fortuna is not always a symbiotic relationship, as discussed in Chapter 4, 241ff. However, since the association between Mark Antony and Fortuna was promoted, it is not unlikely that the relationship between Cleopatra/ Isis, and Fortuna was alluded to in the funerary monument. For Isis and Fortuna in the Campus Martius in the Augustan age: Chapter 4. Clear associations between Isis and Fortuna in Praeneste appear in imperial-dated material, such as the Claudian Egyptian obelisks. For more dubious associations of Isis and Fortuna in the Republican period, see Coarelli (1994).

In conclusion, the Late Republican dynasts venerated Fortuna as they competed for power against one another. Fortuna became transformed, from public to private entity, through venerable associations (e.g., Servius' Fortuna) and the initiatives of prominent generals: Aemilius Paullus, L. Licinius Lucullus, Marius, Catulus, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, Mark Antony, and Octavian.

With the establishment of the principate, all of the loaded associations of Fortuna, which spread amongst various competing Roman generals, became focused on one individual, the emperor. Augustus and his successors assume the mantle of Fortuna's favorite, including the key issues of victory, felicitas, grain, control over fate. At the same time, they are also subjected to her capricious will. Through this transformation in the last century BCE, the figure of Fortuna was not "purged" of her negative imagery, nor was she marginalized in the wake of the growing importance of Venus.

In addition to her new role as personal guarantor during the late Republican period, Fortuna appeared as the patronness of "succession," beginning with Sulla's failed political adoption of Lucullus. This key issue would develop, from Marius and Sulla, to Lucullus and Pompey, Julius Caesar and Pompey, and Mark Antony and Octavian. Under Augustus, with the establishment of the princeps, Fortuna clearly appears as the kingmaker and guarantor of dynastic succession.

Chapter 4: Fortuna after Actium: Guarantor of the Victoria Augusti and her related structures in the Campus Martius

The turning point in Fortuna's history in Rome was Octavian's victory in Actium (31 BCE). After this conquest, Octavian cultivated the worship and prominence of Fortuna in Rome (following past late Republican initiatives, especially those of Julius Caesar) in an unprecedented scale through statuary dedications and monuments, corresponding with the new significance of some of the *princeps'* other key patron gods: Victory, Mars, and Venus. An examination of the various monuments does not suggest that Augustus ever followed one general theme or controlled religious and political imagery with a master plan or an "ideology," but rather implemented multiple responses to different political and social requirements over time.[684] One of Augustus' earliest monuments commemorated the crucial battle site, Actium, and included a prominent dedication to Victory and Fortuna. In Rome, Augustus and Agrippa, often following Julius Caesar's lead, constructed many monuments related to the persona of Fortuna in the Campus Martius. The Pantheon, modeled after the Tychaion of Alexandria, is one of many structures that emulates the architecture

[684] For the idea of an Augustan "evolution" versus "revolution" in terms of Augustan religious and political policies, see Galinsky (1996) passim. For similar assessment of the Hellenistic age: Green (1993) passim.

of Hellenistic Alexandria, created to magnify the persona of Augustus and his rapport with the gods, including Fortuna.

Working parallel to Zanker and Simon, Hölscher has advocated that such ideologically–charged public images were created to invoke "spontaneous applause" by the viewer and imitation and emulation by the rest of Roman society.[685] More recently, Galinsky has defined the promotion of ideals and concepts, in all of their manifestations during the Augustan age as "guiding ideas and values," though not in a modern ideological sense.[686] Price, in his study of temples dedicated to the imperial cult, and Rose, in his study of sculptural dedications to the imperial cult, note that throughout the empire imperial cult temples and portraits of emperors were usually commissioned by private citizens, not the emperors themselves.[687] These observations suggest that a voluntary and symmetrical relationship existed between the ruler and subject, rather than a unidirectional propagation of images from emperor to the public.

A BRONZE STATUE GROUP COMMEMORATING OCTAVIAN'S LUCK AND HIS SPECIAL AFFINITY WITH VICTORIA AND FORTUNA

After his victory over the forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra in Actium (31 BCE), one of Octavian's first symbolic acts was to found the city of Nicopolis

685 Hölscher (1988) 353-354, translated in Trimble (2000) 67 fn. 65.
686 Fn. 142. For a recent treatment of the concept of ideology in Roman culture, see Eich (2000).

(30 BCE) on the site of his castrum as an eternal memorial to his victory.[688] Founding a "victory" city instantly evoked images of other city foundations after important battles, most memorably, Alexander the Great's city foundation after the Battle of Issus in 333 BCE. The battle had taken place in the Greek East, and Alexander was, as always an important model to emulate in the East and West. More recently, Pompey had founded the city Nicopolis in Pontus, after his victory over Mithridates VI in 66 BCE.[689]

Ancient sources conflict on which god was the recipient of the memorial. Dio (51.1.3) states that it was dedicated to Apollo, Suetonius (*Aug*. 18.2), to Mars and Neptune. A recent study of the archaeological remains of the campsite and memorial has resolved the issue of the design and dedications of the site.[690] It consisted of an artificial terrace constructed on the original campsite of Octavian's forces, with a U-shaped portico, dedicated, according to the fragmentary inscription (20 BCE), to Mars and Neptune, *pace parta terra marique*.[691]

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687 Price (1984), Rose (1997).

688 Murray and Petsas (1989). Dio 51.1, Suet., *Aug*., 18.2 [Pollitt (1992) 102], Philippus, in *Anth. Pal*. 6.236, Strabo 7.7.6. Augustus and Actium in general: Gurval (1995).

689 Even though Pompey had been the bitter rival of Octavian's adoptive father, the young victorious general Octavian consistently honored Pompey the Great on many occasions. For example, in addition to recalling Pompey's recent Nicopolis, Octavian reverently restored Pompey's theater complex in the Campus Martius in 32 BCE without changing Pompey's dedicatory inscription (*RG* 20).

690 Murray and Petsas (1989).

691 Murray and Petsas (1989) 62-93.

According to the new study, the terraced sanctuary, in essence, reproduced the form of the rostra,[692] the speaker's platform, in Rome, on a massive-scale. The Roman rostra form was used to express the symbolic *Romanitas* of the victor in a Greek setting, to emphasize the importance of the event, and to suitably host the massive beaks of the captured enemy ships, according to the Roman tradition established in 338 BCE (Livy 8.14.12, Pliny *N.H*. 34.20). The massive beaks, in the form of ram heads, are lost, but the outlines carved into the wall of the platform, into which the beaks were fitted, remain.[693] This monument was echoed in Rome through the senatorial decree to decorate the Temple of the Divine Julius Caesar in the Forum with the same ship beaks (Dio 51.19),[694] linking the victory monument of Actium in Nicopolis to Rome, as well as associating the victory with Octavian and his adoptive father.

Apart from the dedication of the ship beaks, the only other known dedication is a bronze statuary group of Eutychus and Nikon. To this effect, Suetonius (*Aug*. 96.2), (repeated in Plut., *Ant*. 65.3), records that Octavian met a man whose name, Eutychus, meaning good fortune, and who was riding his donkey, Nikon, which means victory. After the battle, Augustus dedicated a bronze statue group to the pair at his camp, which became the sanctuary, as

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692 *LTUR* (1999) F. Coarelli, "Rostra Repubblicana," IV.212-214, *LTUR* (1999) P. Verduchi, "Rostra Augusti," IV.214-217, Richardson (1992) 334-336.
693 Murray and Petsas (1989) 115-124.
694 The beaks were placed on the rostra of the temple: *LTUR* (1996) P. Gros, "Iulius, Divus, aedes," III.116-119, Richardson (1992) 213-214.

previously discussed. The statue group may have been cast using the bronze of one of the rams from Antony's captured ships.[695]

The statue group was long-lived. The bronze statue group of Eutychus and Nikon remained *in situ* until removed to Constantinople, whereas the rams were stripped from the site at the latest in 397 CE, when Alaric sacked the surrounding area. Although we do not know the time and circumstances in which it was transported to Constantinople, it was certainly considered important enough to transfer to the new capital of the empire. In the mid-twelfth century, Zonaras describes the statue group in the hippodrome of Constantinople [Zonaras 10.30 (p. I 526 D)].[696]

Luck was with Octavian, and brought him victory. This statue group underlines Augustus' association of Fortuna with the prominent Augustan goddess Victoria, continuing the Victoria-Fortuna pairing used by his immediate predecessors, e.g., Sepullius Macer's coinage under Julius Caesar, as well as Hellenistic monarchs, e.g., the statuary group in the Tychaion in Alexandria depicting two winged Victories crowning Tyche, who in turned crowned Alexander.

Octavian's chance encounter near the battleships with the man riding his donkey in the calm of night, before the battle (Plu., Ant. 65.3) has the same ring of truth as Julius Caesar's secretive journey at night and aborted attempt to cross

[695] Murray and Petsas (1989) 93.

the sea with a fisherman's vessel, as we have examined in Chapter 3.[697] Amidst the storm, in which he almost lost his life, Caesar was noted as having declared his safety in the hands of his Fortuna. If Plutarch's added details (i.e., at night, by the ships) to Suetonius' account of Octavian's encounter are not colored by the Julius Caesar encounter with Fortuna, they at least heighten the importance of Fortuna and Victoria in his epiphany.

Fortuna, who brings felicitas (and victory) is an appropriate figure before the battle, also because of her associations with the sea and storm; for example, Horace, Ode I.35 addresses the same god before Octavian's departure from Rome. As noted in Chapter 3, the coinage of Sepullius Macer was coined in 44 BCE to mark Caesar's departure for the projected Parthian war.

The bronze statue group had a visual and symbolic impact in Rome as well. The group appears at the beginning of the spiral reliefs on Trajan's Column, an auspicious omen for Trajan and his army as they set out for Dacia.[698] Therefore, the perpetuity of the Eutychus-Nikon monument resonated for over a century, given its prominent position on the base of Trajan's column, at the most legible point for viewers below. On the column, the captured moment is of a man

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[696] Ibid.

[697] Florus 2.13.37, Dio Cassius 41.46.3, Plu., *Caes*. 38.5, *Fort Rom*. 6.319c-d, *Reg. Et imp. Apopht. Caes*. 9.206d, Appian *BC* 2.57, 2, 150, Zonaras 10.8.

[698] Trajan's Column (dedicated 113 CE):*LTUR* (1995) II.348-356, Richardson (1992) 175-178,Kleiner (1992) 212-220, Claridge (1993) 5-22, Jones (1993) 23-38, Claridge (1998) 164-167, Lancaster (1999) 419-439. Lepper, Frere (1988) 59-60, referring to G.-Ch. Picard, *Les Trophées Romains* (1957) 338ff, suggests that one of the initial scenes on the column, a man falling off his donkey in front of Trajan, is actually a recreation or quote of the Nikon-Eutychus scene.

falling off an ass in front of Trajan, creates a dynamic, "Hellenistic"[699] group, to convey a powerful portent, which had become a standardized (and even necessary) image for victory in war, the gods Victoria and Fortuna (particularly, good luck).

An echo of the Eutychus-Nikon group also appears in a Pompeian wall painting.[700] The wall painting of a Victoria crowning a donkey, which is mounting a lion, recalls the story told by Suetonius portraying Augustus as the victorious donkey and Antony as the lion. It may also reflect the sculptural composition both of the Eutychus-Nikon group and the Victoria flanking the Tyche, which crowns Alexander in the Tychaion in Alexandria. The characterization of these groups on the Pompeian wall painting underlines the diffuse nature of the group, parallel to the more famous satirical depiction of the Aeneas group from the Forum Augustum portrayed as apes with phalloi.[701] The appearance of the satirical fresco of the Eutychus-Nikon statue group in Nicopolis demonstrates the trickle-down affect outlined by Zanker of the upscale sculpture to the larger populace in a cheaper medium. [702]

More importantly, it shows that to solidify his victory and stabilize his role in Rome, Octavian continued the Greek idea adopted by the Republican Roman

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[699] For a definition of "Hellenistic" in the context of the Augustan age, see Galinsky (1996) 332-363.
[700] Kellum (1996) 175-6.
[701] Zanker (1988b) 1-13.
[702] Zanker (1988a) 265-295.

generals, that Victory and Good Fortuna proceed hand in hand.[703] At the same time, this anecdote served to personalize the *princeps'* relationship with the goddesses on a level parallel to Pompey's and Caesar's residences which expressed a sort of fraternity with neighboring Fortuna cults. In this case, Octavian's personal, rather than symbolic, experience with Victoria and Fortuna created an even stronger tie to his personal power and auspicious luck in the form of a powerful omen, just as Julius Caesar was accompanied and saved by the same Fortuna during a storm at sea. Thus, Fortuna is an appropriate patron for Octavian before battle, as conveyor of victory, her primary role in the Hellenistic discourse, in addition to her established role in maritime activities such as trade, travel, and war, which will be important factors for the cult of Fortuna Redux. The appearance of such divine visitations, such as the Eutychus-Nikon (as well as prodigies, a regular occurrence in the Republican period), noticeably dwindles by the Augustan age.[704]

FORTUNA "INSTALLATIONS" IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

Through their large-scale building activity, Augustus and Agrippa made the Campus Martius into a vast network of public spaces, porticoes, and temples, imitating and emulating different features and characteristics of many Greek

[703] Fears (1981b) 759-764.

Hellenistic cities. These constructions symbolically represented various features from throughout the oikoumene (in a sense recreating the entire world in Rome), now under the power of the *princeps*. The figure and iconography of Fortuna also symbolized Augustus' power over the oikoumene, justifying her presence in the Campus Martius. In the following discussion, I will focus almost exclusively on the ways in which Augustus' and Agrippa's designs echo individual monuments and the urban plan of Alexandria, the greatest Hellenistic capital in the Greek East. Caesarian activity in the Campus Martius preceded many of the Augustan-age structures, where Fortuna figures prominently, both symbolically and physically, in many of the buildings, in particular, the Pantheon.

Agrippa's Pantheon: new research on the structure

Agrippa dedicated the Pantheon between 27 BCE (*CIL* 6.896) and 25 BCE (Dio 53.27.3). Scholars have continually debated the identity of the god(s) to whom the temple was dedicated, the shape of the building, and the direction it faced.[705] A recent excavation beneath the portico of the Hadrianic Pantheon (125-128 CE) has shed new light on the nature of the Agrippan Pantheon and the

[704] Beard et al. (1998) I.252, Liebeschuetz (1979) 57-58.
[705] Most recently see (with bibliography):*LTUR* (1999) A. Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," IV.54-61, Thomas (1997) 163-186, *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pantheon (fase pre- adriana)," V.280-283, Richardson (1992) 283-287.

religio-political Augustan program in the Campus Martius and the divinization of Augustus.

This new excavation confirmed that the building faced north, towards the Mausoleum of Augustus, since stairs of the Agrippan building phase were found underneath the Hadrianic stairs.[706] The shape of the building was a porch (directly underneath the porch of the Hadrianic building phase) 43.7 meters wide with colored marble pavement, in front of a circular platform, probably unroofed.

The Agrippan rotunda may have consisted of an open air space in the center, encircled by a colonnade covered by barrel vaults. Models include the colonnades from the Sanctuary of Fortuna in Praeneste, as well as Greek precedents: the Thymele in Epidaurus, considered Asclepius' tomb, the Rotunda of Arsinoe, and the Tychaion of Alexandria (considered rectangular and a rotunda by diverse scholars).[707]

An even more impressive and relevant monument was not a conventional temple at all: the Philippeion at Olympia.[708] After 338 BCE, Philip of Macedon constructed this small, but ornately decorated, roofed tholos, which proclaimed the god-like status of himself and his family, if not eventual deification.[709] Inside there were chryselephantine statues (whose ivory and gold materials usually were

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[706] *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pantheon (fase pre-adriana),"V.280-283, Virgili and Battistelli (1999) 137-154. For the relationship between the Pantheon and Mausoleum, see below.
[707] *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pantheon (fase pre-adriana),"V.280-283 cites: F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos* (1986) 129-135, G. Roux in *Samothrace VII. The Rotunda of Arsinoe* (1992) 179-180. For the Tychaion, see the discussion in Chapter 3, 138ff.
[708] Lawrence (1996) 137-141 on Greek circular buildings in general.

reserved only for gods) of Philip, his wife Olympias, son Alexander, and his parents Eurydice and Amyntas, by the sculptor Leochares (Pausanias 5.20.9). The structure was a testament of his own power in the Greek world, a dynastic monument, displaying his heir, Alexander. The choice of the round structure seems to have fit the particular circumstances of the structure. Likewise, the round ground plan was an appropriate choice for the Pantheon, in which the statue of the dynastic founder, Julius Caesar was placed within, and the heir, Augustus, in the porch (further discussed below).

The shape of the Agrippan Pantheon also would have more immediately recalled a venerable Roman cult in the nearby vicinity: the tholos and porch configuration of Catulus' Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, whose cosmological features have already been reviewed.[710] The perpetuation of this architectural form underlines the importance of this Fortuna cult and the cult of Fortuna in general in Late Republican and Augustan architecture and politics.

The meaning of the Pantheon: Alexandrian Tychaion as model

I will argue below that the Tychaion, more than any other structure, was an appropriate model for the Pantheon, if not a clever adaptation for a Roman

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[709] Green (1991) 81ff.

[710] Thomas (1997) 171 examines the cosmological features of the Agrippan Pantheon. For the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, see Chapter 3, 169ff.

audience and context. As a result of the strong relationship between the two buildings, the personality and prominence of Fortuna appears in the Pantheon, related to other nearby structures as well. The Tychaion, as we have seen, through its physical link to important Alexandrian structures, such as the Mouseion, Library, and palace, and its didactic sculptural display, of Victory, Tyche, Earth, Alexander, and Ptolemy, was a key monument to legitimize the successor relationship between Alexander and Ptolemy and the kingship of Ptolemy in Alexandria. The Tychaion was, in essence, a systematic way of expressing the hierarchy and the ruler's links to the gods. The Pantheon, too, was a central Augustan monument, around which several other Augustan structures revolved (see below), legitimizing the rule of Augustus in Rome and highlighting the Fortuna's prominence in the Campus Martius.

To whom was the Pantheon dedicated? [711] Dio (53.27.2) relates that the Pantheon was thus named because of the many statues that adorn it are images of many gods, including Mars, Venus, and Divus Iulius (Pliny *N.H.* 9.121). When Agrippa offered both to place a statue of Augustus inside it and name the building after him, Augustus refused. In response, Agrippa placed a statue of the Divus Iulius Caesar inside the structure and statues of himself and Augustus in the porch area.

[711] Coarelli (1968) is the standard work; *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pantheon (fase pre-adriana),"V.281-283. For the identification of the Pantheon as a Temple of Mars: *LTUR* (1999) A. Ziolkowski, "Pantheon," IV.54-61.

Agrippa's building was an attempt to define the same bounds for Augustus as the Tychaion for Ptolemy I: the ruler's place among all the gods and relationship with super-human predecessor. Such relationship was, at the same time, more nuanced and less explicit than the sculptural display in the Philippeion in Olympia or the many Kaisarea and Sebasteia that were spontaneously dedicated to Augustus in the Greek East.[712] In addition, the Roman structure referred to Romulus, Julius Caesar's ancestor and founder of Rome, who was apotheosized in the nearby ground of the palus Caprae.[713] No standard temple nor Roman precedent could have voiced these terms so clearly; hence, the Alexandrian model with a Roman perspective. As stated above, it is unclear whether or not the Tychaion was round, but the dynastic Philippeion at Olympia and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei suggest that a round temple would have been an adequate shape for such an innovative structure.

The prominent position of, or allusion to, the cult of Fortuna (by virtue of the Tychaion model) was very appropriate in the Campus Martius. Just as Tyche was an important symbol of the legitimization of Ptolemy in Alexandria, Fortuna had become the guarantor of the late Republican dynasts and their heirs, e.g., Sulla to Lucullus (who was later bested by Pompey).

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[712] E.g., Price (1984) 155ff.

[713] Livy 1.16.1. *LTUR* (1993) F. Coarelli, "Caprae, palus," I.234, Coarelli (1997) 17-60, 590, 591-602 for the hypothesized dimensions of the swamp.

With the victory of Octavian over Mark Antony, Fortuna appeared again prominently in the theme of legitimization and succession. Just as Tyche insured Ptolemy's rule, via Alexander, Fortuna guaranteed the rule of Octavian and his heir Agrippa (both of whose statues were located outside the temple, in the porch) through the deified Julius Caesar and his divine ancestors: Mars and Venus. It is not necessarily the case that Fortuna was portrayed inside. Indeed, the lack of mention of the goddess and the name of the temple suggest otherwise.

However, to the elite audience familiar with Alexandria, and aware of the nature of the surrounding buildings, which will be examined in detail below (i.e., the Iseum and the Temple of Bonus Eventus), the symbolic allusion to Fortuna was clear. This was not a temple to Augustus, whose image remained outside, in the porch area, as opposed to the statue of Ptolemy I Soter (whose image was located inside the Tychaion), but the Pantheon, like the Tychaion, existed as a dynastic monument. The divinized Julius Caesar and his ancestors stood inside the temple, to be joined by Augustus (whose statue was placed in the porch) upon his own death, parallel to the placement of the statue of Divus Julius inside the Temple of Mars Ultor and the equestrian statue of Augustus outside in the piazza of the Forum Augustum.

The Pantheon and the tombs of Julius Caesar and Augustus

Ptolemy I Soter took possession of Alexander's body during his funeral procession, housing Alexander's body in an impressive tomb in the city, known as "The Tomb."[714] Simultaneously, Ptolemy constructed impressive monuments that defined him as the rightful successor of Alexander, such as the Tychaion with its allegorical statue groups within, including a statue of Alexander. The strong affiliation that existed between the Tychaion and "The Tomb," two fundamental dynastic monuments in Alexandria, by virtue of the focus on the larger-than-life persona of Alexander, found correspondence in the Campus Martius: the Pantheon and the tombs of Augustus and Julius Caesar.

As discussed above, the Pantheon, a "Romanized Tychaion," legitimizing the rule of Augustus, was linked to the Mausoleum of Augustus.[715] That Augustus' future death would result in his own immortality was clearly visualized by the topographical and architectural correspondence between the Mausoleum and Pantheon; the entrance of the Mausoleum faced south, directly across the Campus Martius plain, to the entrance of the Agrippan Pantheon, which faced north. The diameter of the rotunda (circa 150 Roman feet) is one half of diameter of the Mausoleum (circa 300 Roman feet), indicating that, in addition to

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[714] Strabo 17.1.8-10, Green (1993) 13-14, 404.

[715] von Hesberg, Panciera (1996), *LTUR* (1996) H. von Hesberg, "Mausoleum Augusti: das Monument," III.234-237, Richardson (1992) 247-249. H. von Hesberg, "Das Mausoleum des Augustus," in *Kaiser Augustus* (1988) 245-249 cat. 113-115, Kienast (1969) 430-456 explain the connections between the tombs of Alexander and Octavian. Furthermore, Alexander made a tomb for his horse, Bucephalus; Augustus constructed a tomb for a horse, in imitation of Alexander (Pliny, *N.H*. 8.155), following Julius Caesar's bronze statuary dedication of his own mount, which had human feet, like Bucephalus, in the Forum Iulium (Pliny *N.H*. 8.155, Suet., *Iul*. 61, Statius,

the fact that the entrances faced one another as visual cues, a symbolic and architectural relationship existed between the two structures.[716]

Before Augustus, Caesar explored his own notions of kingship, through his personal rapport with the gods and his ancestral ties, especially Romulus and Venus.[717] He planned his own burial in the Campus Martius in the tumulus of his daughter, Iulia, constructed in 54 BCE (Suet. *Iul*, 23.3, *Aug*. 95; Plut., *Caes*. 23.4, *Pomp*. 53.6, Dio 39.64), possibly just north of the Temple of Divine Hadrian. Caesar would have chosen this previously undeveloped site probably in relationship with the palus Caprae, the supposed site of Romulus' apotheosis.[718] This tumulus probably was constructed on a large scale, following the tumulus of Sulla as a precedent, located in the middle of the Campus Martius (Lucan 2.222).[719] The tumulus Iuliae, in turn, was a precedent and model for Octavian's Mausoleum, commonly considered modeled after Alexander's tomb as well as those of Hellenistic dynasts and those of the Etruscans. It was intended to play a central role in his extensive projects in the Campus Martius, including the world's largest temple, the Temple of Mars, a project later abandoned by the triumviri.[720]

Sil. 1.1.84-90). Etruscan background: Kornemann (1938) 81-85. Recently, Davies (2000) 13-19, 49-67, 74-75.

[716] *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pantheon (fase pre-adriana),"V.281-283.

[717] Weinstock (1971) 15ff., 80ff., 176ff.

[718] Fn. 713.

[719] *LTUR* (1999), E. La Rocca, "Sepulcrum: L. Cornelius Sulla," IV.286.

[720] Mars was among the key deities worshipped by Julius Caesar: Weinstock (1971) 128ff. Sulla was Felix in Italy and "epaphroditus" in the East (Plu., *Sull*. 19.9; 34.3-5). While in Antioch, Julius Caesar dedicated a statue of Tyche in the Temple of Ares (Malalas 9.216). We can expect that Caesar also would have visually depicted the close association between Fortuna and Mars in

Indeed, the area of the Caesarian tumulus apparently remained an important one, the future site of the ustrinum Augusti, which played an intimate role with the Mausoleum of Augustus.[721]

The recent excavations underneath the Pantheon, previously discussed, revealed that pre-Agrippan foundations rest on inundation levels from the Tiber, beneath the Agrippan phase of the Pantheon. La Rocca suggests that they may be Caesarian, possibly the remains of the Tumulus Iuliae.[722] However, it is more probable that they represent the Caesarian building activity in the area,[723] if not a structural precedent for the Pantheon itself.

Further evidence supports the hypothesis that Caesar would have been receptive to the idea of the Tychaion in Alexandria and its link to Alexander's tomb. During his stay in Alexandria (48-47 BCE), Caesar left his mark on the city architecturally, through the construction of the *first* Caesareum (Strabo 17.1.8-10), which was decorated with two obelisks at its entrance (Pliny *N.H.* 36.69).[724] Apparently, this feature was echoed in the placement of two obelisks at the

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Rome. See Chapter 5, 288ff. for the continuation of the relationship between Fortuna and Mars in the Augustan Temple of Mars Ultor.

[721] *LTUR* (1999) V. Jolivet, "Ustrinum Augusti," V.97 has argued that that ustrinum Augusti was not next to Augustus' Mausoleum but rather a part of the space designated for Julius Caesar's prominent tomb. See, too, Haselberger (2000) 524-525. Strabo 5.3.8 indicates that the ustrinum Augusti was in the middle of the Campus Martius, the same location of the tumulus Sullae (Lucan 2.222).

[722] *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pantheon (fase pre-adriana),"V.280-282.

[723] To the east of the Pantheon are the Saepta Iulia, a project started by Caesar (Cic., *Att*. 4.16.14) and completed by Agrippa (Dio 53.23) and the Iseum, discussed below.

[724] Malalas 217.12. Weinstock (1971) 297. In Antioch on the Orontes, Julius Caesar dedicated a Caesareum to himself in 47 BCE, decorated with statues of himself and Dea Roma.

entrance into Augustus' Mausoleum.[725] The presence of the obelisks in the entrances of the Caesareum and Augustus' Mausoleum indicate the architectural and symbolic continuity between Rome and Alexandria, the subject of the following section.

The Campus Martius and Alexandria

In 55 BCE, as we have discussed in the third chapter, the varied Republican constructions[726] scattered throughout the area known as the Campus Martius[727] were joined (and overshadowed) by Pompey's imposing theater complex, which symbolically, ideologically, and architecturally inserted itself into the area and related to surrounding structures, in addition to other tangential Pompeian constructions, such as Pompey's residence, *nemus*, and *horti*. The *horti* and the theater complex were modeled after Pergamene architectural monuments,[728] as well as the *horti* of preceding Roman greats, such as the *horti* of

[725] A pre-Augustan (probably Caesarian) date for the Alexandrian structure is more viable than Augustan, since, during the Augustan period, its name was changed from Caesareum (Strabo 17.1.8-10, who visited Alexandria between 24-20 BCE) to Sebasteion (as noted by Philo, *Leg. Ad Gaium* 151): Isager (1991)190 fn. 714, Tuck (1997) 24-25, 67-68, with bibliography. Because of the Caesareum decoration (two obelisks flanking the entrance) in Alexandria, the obelisks of Augustus' Mausoleum were probably part of its original design as well, *contra* Amm. Marc. 17.5.15, rather than a later addition.
[726] *LTUR* (1993) T. P. Wiseman, "Campus Martius," I.220-224, with list of monuments in the Campus Martius, discussed throughout the *LTUR* series. Coarelli (1997) passim.
[727] Definition of, confines of Campus Martius: *LTUR* (1993) T. P. Wiseman, "Campus Martius," I.220-224, Coarelli (1997) 3-17, Richardson (1992) 65-67.
[728] Kuttner (1999a) 343-373.

Scipio Aemilianus.[729] For example, Pergamon, included a citadel, temple of Athena Nikephoros, a theater, palace of the kings, a theater, parallel elements, all of which were present, as we have seen, in the Theater of Pompey.

After Pompey's impressive project, Julius Caesar, in good, Republican fashion, set out to out shine his rival through a massive architectural project on an even larger scale.[730] His project included rerouting the Tiber (as part of larger hydraulic projects to insure safer shipping from East to West), building the Temple of Mars in the Campus Martius, rebuilding the Saepta (the voting enclosure) in the Campus Martius, building the Forum Iulium, the Curia, the Basilica Iulia, his own *horti*,[731] a theater, and the first public library.[732]

In effect, Julius Caesar radically attempted to change the appearance of the entire city through extensive architectural and engineering projects, primarily in and around the Forum and the Campus Martius. With his assassination in 44 BCE, some of his projects were abandoned, but many were completed (sometimes in modified fashion) by Octavian and Agrippa. In both ancient and modern

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[729] La Rocca (1986) 5ff.

[730] Weinstock (1971) passim, Pollitt (1992) 85-86.

[731] As previously discussed, Caesar's *horti* included residences which were symbolically associated with previously existing temples in the area. Octavian's residence on the Palatine more closely followed the Pergamene model and Pompey's: a house, Temples of Victory, theater of Mater Magna, huts of Romulus, sanctuary of Apollo. See Carettoni (1983), Simon (1986) 217-221, Zanker (1988a) 67, 207, 280-281, Galinsky (1996) 187-191, 218, 220.

[732] Hydraulic projects, Curia, Temple of Felicitas: Dio 44.4.4ff, Cic. *Ad Att*. 13.33a, Suet., *Iul*. 44, Plu., *Caes*. 58. Forum Iulium: Dio 43.22.2-3. Temple of Mars, theater, library: Suet., *Iul*., 44. Saepta: Cic. *Ad Att*. 4.16. Circus Maximus: Pliny, *N.H*. 36.102. Naumachia: App. *Bell. Civ*., 2.102. Basilica Julia: Cic. *Ad Att*.4.17. Favro (1996) 60-78, Coarelli (1997) 580-590

studies, Caesar's role in these projects is generally overshadowed by those of Octavian and Agrippa.[733]

The Alexandrian nature of the Caesarian projects, often still visible in the projects of Agrippa and Octavian in the Campus Martius (as we will see below), is often noted, but little explored due to the scarcity of evidence.[734] Nevertheless, Caesar's choice of Alexandria as an appropriate model for his building plans in the Campus Martius includes its prominence in the Greek East as a beautiful, properly-laid site under Alexander and the Ptolemies.[735]

That Julius Caesar imitated and emulated Alexandria, over other Hellenistic cities is not a new idea in modern scholarship. In the first place, regarding Caesar's frequently employed *imitatio Alexandri*,[736] Alexandria suited him best as an urban model, as only Alexandria, of all the Hellenistic Greek capitals, was founded by Alexander. Caesar also emulated Alexandria due to his personal experience there during the Civil Wars.[737] Caesar's simultaneously

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[733] E.g., Zanker (1988a), Favro (1996), Augustus' *Res Gestae*. The projects of Caesar were in various stages of planning and completion when Octavian and Agrippa intervened, upon Caesar's death. Though frequently modifying or abandoning Caesar's projects, these projects were the true blueprints for the young triumvirate and his loyal general to restructure Rome. Coarelli (1997) 556 fn. 69, 586 fn. 46, 590.

[734] Coarelli (1977), (1982), Coarelli (1996d) 191-195, Coarelli (1997) 590, Favro (1996) passim [for general assessment of, see Haselberger (2000) 515-528], Torelli (1996) 934ff. See, however, Alfano (2000) 210-226.

[735] Favro (1996) 46ff, 50ff, recently has indicated the importance of these qualities, both beauty and orthogonal lay-out, in Greek cities, such as Greek Hellenistic capitals, such as Alexandria, Antioch, Pergamon, and Syracuse.

[736] Michel (1967), Weinstock (1971) passim, esp. 86ff.

[737] Caes., *Bell. Alex*. Caesar visited other Hellenistic capitals, including Antioch, during the civil wars. Earlier in his career he had spent considerable time in the East, as military tribune, from 81-78 BCE, (Suet., *Iul*. 2) and in the mid-70s, he studied at Rhodes.

political and personal motivations include his love affair with Cleopatra[738] and the birth of their son, Caesarion. This heir left Caesar with indirect control over Egypt.[739]

Caesar's attention to the Egyptian queen and her arrival and sojourn in Rome led to the rumor that Caesar intended to switch the capital of the empire to the East, Troy (Rome's and Caesar's ancestral home, as descendants of Aeneas) or Alexandria (Suet., *Iul*. 79); the same rumor resurfaced during the conflict between Octavian and Mark Antony, Cleopatra's lover after Caesar.[740] Instead of changing the capital, Caesar undertook a series of imposing architectural and engineering projects in the Campus Martius, using the resources and resourcefulness of the Alexandrians. As a result, Caesar, and later Octavian and

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738 After the Alexandrian War, Cleopatra returned with Caesar to Rome for his triumph in 46 BCE. She remained as his guest in his *Horti Transtiberim* from 46-44 BCE (Cic., *ad Att*. 15.15.2, *RE* XI, cc. 754-755. Coarelli (1997) 590).

739 Egypt still possessed much of the wealth, which Ptolemy had acquired from Alexander's conquests, and it was one of the breadbaskets of antiquity. However, reducing Egypt to a Roman province would have allowed rival senators to gain too much power. Therefore, allowing Cleopatra to rule Egypt, with Caesar's and Cleopatra's son, Caesarion, born June 23, 47 BCE, was a way of leaving Egypt independent yet under Caesar's control (*Bell. Alex*. 33, Suet. *Iul*. 35.1, 52.1, 76.3, Dio 42.44.1-4, 43.19.2; App. *Bell. Civ*. 2.90, Strabo 17.1.11). Just how much Julius Caesar was prepared to maintain this situation is indicated by his attempts to pass legislation allowing him to marry the foreign queen (Justinian, *Inst.* 1.10). See Green (1993) 664-682.

740 The fear of replacing Rome as the capital was an old one (Livy 5.52.2). Octavian condemned Antony's "Donations of Alexandria" in 34 BCE (which recognized Caesar Ptolemy as the son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra, and recognized Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene as the children of Cleopatra and Mark Antony), and Antony's triumphal parade in Alexandria (to celebrate his victory over Armenia), during which Mark Antony and Cleopatra were dressed as Dionysus and Isis (Dio 49.32.1-5, Plu. *Ant.* 36, Strabo 14.5.3). Octavian also publicized Mark Antony's will, which stated that he wanted to be buried in Alexandria (Dio 50.3). In contrast, at this time, Octavian had at least vocally proclaimed the construction of his own tomb in the Campus Martius, the construction of which was well under way by 28 BCE (Suet., *Aug*. 100.4), completed by 23 BCE. In addition, Octavian promoted the image of an orientalized Mark Antony

Agrippa,[741] would actually succeed in bringing Alexandria to Rome through their building projects, as noted in Strabo's comparative description of the two cities: Alexandria (17.1.8-10) and the Campus Martius (5.3.8).[742]

That Caesar emulated Alexandria may be seen as early as his building activity around the future site of the Pantheon (e.g., tumulus, Saepta, and Iseum) and the use of obelisks for the Caesareum in Alexandria, in anticipation of Augustus' use of the obelisk as a war trophy, after the conquest of Egypt. The following projects more clearly demonstrate Caesar's attention to Alexandria.

According to Suetonius, after celebrating his triumphs in 46 BCE, Caesar's first reform was to reorder the calendar (Suet., *Iul*. 40). This feat may have been, in part, due to his connections with Alexandria, whose scholars (working in the Mouseion) were renowned for their interest in astronomy, cosmology, astrology. Indeed, such experts would have been part of Cleopatra's

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who wanted to transfer the capital to Alexandria, to be controlled by Cleopatra, who wanted to rule also on the Capitoline [Dio 50.4-5, Williams (2000) 138-143, Zanker (1988a) 57-65].

741 Agrippa's building plans have many elements of the Hellenistic palaces; the regular planning on such a large scale, with countless public structures, imitates and rivals the organization of Alexandria [Torelli (1996) 934-935, Coarelli (1997) 539-590, Coarelli, "Rom. Die Stadtplanung von Caesar bis Augustus," in *Kaiser Augustus* (1988) 68-80]. For the various Agrippan and Augustan buildings, see the various articles in *LTUR*.

742 The importance of Strabo's description of the Campus Martius remains neglected [e.g., as noted in Galinsky (1996) x, Haselberger (2000)]. L. Haselberger is editing a new study on the relationship between the urban development in the Campus Martius and the Strabo's description of it in the *JRA* supplemental volume series. Coarelli (1997) 556 fn. 69, 586 fn. 46. Caesar began many projects in Rome, possibly with the help of Alexandrian engineers and architects that he brought back with him as his conquest of Alexandria: see below. Octavian, too, was impressed with the city of Alexandria: Plut., *Ant*. 80, Diod. Sic. 18.26. Castagnoli, "Influenze Alessandrine nell'urbanistica della Roma augustea," in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, 6 (1984) 520-526 sees a parallel between Julius Caesar's Caesareum of Alexandria, built in 48-46 BCE (Phil. *Leg. Ad C*. 151) and the function of the Saepta Iulia. In the

learned entourage, including the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes, basing his work on the rational solar calendar on that of Callippus in the fourth century BCE.[743]

Caesar's reform was carried to the next degree through Augustus' installment of the horologium using the first imported Egyptian obelisk as its sundial (10 BCE), part of his complex in the northern Campus Martius, including his Mausoleum and its surrounding public park (28-23 BCE) and the Ara Pacis (13-9 BCE).[744] Through both projects, Caesar and Octavian both established new order in the city, on a practical and cosmic level.[745]

Part of the library of Alexandria was burned during Caesar's campaign in Alexandria in 47 BCE (Plut., *Caes*. 49, Dio 42.38.2, Oros. 6.15.31, Sen. *Dial*. 9.9.5, Aul. Gell. *NA*. 7.17.3). In response to this episode, as well as his own personal exposure to the vast collection in Alexandria, Caesar set in motion the construction of the first public library in Rome (Suet., *Iul*., 44, Plut., *Caes*. 49). He chose Varro, the most learned antiquarian of the day (and the previous "mentor" of Pompey, according to Gellius),[746] as curator of this Greek and Latin

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same volume, see G. Gullini, "Architettura italica ed ellenismo alessandrino," (1984) 527-592. Torelli (1996) passim.

[743] Green (1993) 669, Alfano (2000) 210.

[744] Schütz (1990), (1992). *LTUR* (1996) E. Buchner, "Horologium Augusti," III.35-37, Haselberger (2000) 523. The bibliography on the Ara Pacis is exhaustive: *LTUR* (1999) M. Torelli, "Pax Augusta, Ara," IV.70-74, S. Settis, "Die Ara Pacis," in *Kaiser Augustus* (1988) 400-416, cat. 226-331, Richardson (1992) 287-289, Kleiner (1992) 90-99. For the relationship between the Ara Pacis and the Altar of Fortuna Redux: Chapter 5.

[745] Ortolani (1999)165-171.

[746] Sauron (1994) 280-314.

libraries. In doing so, Caesar joined in the traditional competition between the Greek Hellenistic kings, such as those of Alexandria and Pergamon (Pliny *N.H*. 35.10). The project was left unfinished, with the death of both, but soon after, many public libraries appeared in Rome. The first public library was that of Asinius Pollio, in the Atrium Libertatis (39 BCE). His was followed by the Augustan libraries in the Apollo Palatinus sanctuary (36-28 BCE), in the porticus Octaviae (23 BCE), and in the Templum Divi Augusti (Tiberian in date).[747]

Julius Caesar's hydraulic projects, to ensure important shipping routes to Rome (Suet., *Iul*. 44, Plut., *Caes*. 58), as well as ensure the safety of Rome from the frequently-flooding Tiber (Cic., *ad Att*. 13.33a), were possibly envisioned and assisted through the help of Alexandrian engineers.[748] The Campus Martius, which was to receive Agrippa's Aqua Virgo, Stagnum, and Euripus,[749] all seem to reflect or complete some of Caesar's own projects in the area. Agrippa's construction of the Euripus, meaning channel, from the channel between Boeotia and Euboea, was preceded by Caesar's Euripus built in the Circus Maximus (Suet., *Iul*. 39).[750] The partial draining and regularization of the area encompassed by palus Caprae, the final, monumentalized form of which may be

[747] *LTUR* (1993) F. Coarelli, "Bibliotheca Asinii Pollionis," I.196, M. Torelli, "Bibliotheca Templi Divi Augusti," I.197, P. Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," I.54-57; *LTUR* (1999) A. Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae, " IV.141-145; Richardson (1992)58-59.
[748] Green (1993) 669, Alfano (2000) 210.
[749] *LTUR* (1993) S. Le Pera, "Aqua Virgo," I.72-73, *LTUR* (1999) C. Buzzetti, "Stagnum Agrippae," IV.344-345, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Euripus," II.237-239, Richardson (1992) 19, 146-147, 367.
[750] *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Euripus, in Circo Maximo," II.239, Richardson (1992) 147.

the Stagnum Agrippae, would have been important for making the centralized area hospitable as well as its symbolic value, tied to the tumulus Iuliorum, during the rule of Julius Caesar.[751]

In his analysis of the relationship between the Tychaion and the Agrippan Pantheon, La Rocca notes that Pseudo-Callisthenes (1.31.4) mentions a canal, also called Tychaion, leading from the Tychaion towards the center of the city. The relationship between the Alexandrian canal Tychaion and temple Tychaion finds parallels in the Campus Martius. The Pantheon is located by the Agrippan Stagnum, from which the Euripus channel extends. This same central area in the Campus Martius was preceded by Caesar's construction of a delta (see below), associated with the temple to Isis, creating another powerful link between Tyche, Fortuna, and Caesar in Rome.

Isis cult in Rome related to Fortuna

More direct ties to Alexandria were created through the planned construction of the temple of Isis and related monuments, due to Cleopatra's influence over Julius Caesar and presence in Rome between 46-44 BCE. He seems to have planned a temple of Isis in the Campus Martius (Dio 47.15.4), with a delta, (like the later Agrippan Euripus), as a symbolic channel to imitate the

[751] Coarelli (1997) 601.

Nile, a common feature of Isiac sanctuaries, as part of his construction of the nearby Saepta and Villa Publica.[752] A delta channel was also present in Caesar's *horti* on the Quirinal.[753]

Caesar's projected Iseum was not the first temple of Isis in Rome. The true introduction of the cult of Isis in Rome depended on the presence of Alexandrian traders in Italian port cities (as early as the second century BCE), such as Puteoli, Praeneste, and Pompeii, and the Roman presence in the Greek East.[754]

The cult of Iseum Metellium was well established in 71-63 BCE,[755] and features of Isiac worship were commonly depicted in private Roman villas by the first century BCE, notwithstanding some tangential political confrontations in Rome.[756] In a recent study, C. Häuber has demonstrated the strong cultic

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[752] Coarelli (1996d) 191-195, *LTUR* (1996), F. Coarelli, "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis," III.107-109. *LTUR* (1999), E. Gatti, "Saepta Iulia," IV.228-229; *LTUR* (1999), S. Agache, "Villa Publica," V.202-205.

[753] *LTUR* (1996), F. Coarelli, "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis," III.107-109, F. Coarelli, "Horti Caesaris (ad portam Collinam)," III.55.

[754] Alfano (2000) 211, Coarelli (1994). Arslan (1997) passim (with extensive bibliography), especially P. Gallo, "Luoghi di culto e santuari isiaci in Itali," 290-296, S. Ensoli, "I santuari isiaci a Rome e i contesti non cultuali: religione publica, devozioni private e impiego ideologico del culto," 306-321, S. Gatti, "La diffusione del culto di Iside: Praeneste," 332-334, S. De Caro, "L'Iseo di Pompei," 338-343, S. De Caro, "Iside nei Campi Flegrei," 348-351.

[755] *LTUR* (1996), M. De Vos, "Iseum Metellium (Reg. III)," III.110-112, De Vos (1997), reviewed by Ling (2000) 543-548.

[756] Isiac cult features were common in private villas, as Cicero attests: *ductus aquarum, quos isti nilos et euripos vocant* (Cic., *Leg*. 2.1.2). Problems with the Isiac worship surround the illegal construction of the shrine to Isis on the Capitoline, created at the latest by the end of the second century CE. This led to legislation prohibiting the worship of Isis within the pomerium in Rome. Most notably, at the end of 53 BCE, privately constructed temples of Isis and Serapis were destroyed (Dio 40.47.1-4). In 48 BCE, the Senate decreed that all of the sanctuaries of Isis and Serapis were destroyed, in part to destabilize the power of Clodius Pulcher and the *collegia* he supported (Dio 42.26.1-2). A. Grimm, "Iside imperiale. Aspetti storico-culturali del culto isiaco al tempo degli imperatori romani," in Arslan (1997) 120-125, *LTUR* (1996), F. Coarelli, "Isis Capitolina," III.112-113, Takács (1995) 27-70, esp. 56ff.

relationship between Minerva, Isis, and Fortuna through a study of the related monuments, the Iseum Metellium and the Temple of Fortuna Virgo, later venerated by Sejanus (due to Etruscan familial ties with Nortia and Fortuna) and Nero.[757] The tie between Isis and Minerva would appear more dramatically in the Iseum Campense, with the addition of the Temple of Minerva Chalcidica during the Domitianic reconstruction of the area, after the fire of 80CE.[758]

Alexander planned the construction of a temple of Isis when he laid out the confines of Alexandria (Diod. Sicul. 17.52.1-7, Arr., *Anab*. 3.1.5-2.2), a deed which was emulated by Caesar in Rome for many reasons. Caesar, who fostered his own designs for kingship, usually through associations with Romulus, also would have used the Iseum to promote his special relationship with the gods. After all, Cleopatra VIII, his most recent consort, had direct ties to the gods in Egypt, and was considered both Agathe Tyche and Isis.

For the Hellenistic Ptolemaic queens, the Ptolemies promoted the idea that Arsinoe Philadelphos, Berenice, and Arsinoe II were both Agathe Tyche (who ensured the rule of the Ptolemies), the Ptolemaic positivist version of the uncertain Tyche, and Isis.[759] The association of the queens with Tyche was

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[757] Häuber (1998) 83-112, Pairault Massa (1992) 103-104, 114. Chapter 5, 356ff.

[758] *LTUR* (1996) F. de Caprariis, "Minerva Chalcidica," III.255, Richardson (1992). Minerva was a particularly prominent patron deity of Domitian: D'Ambra (1993) 3-18.

[759] After the death of Arsinoe I (270 BCE), she received an official cult, and the official title "Agathe Tyche Arsinoe Philadelphos Isis," which is preserved on some *oinochoai* in faîence: *Cleopatra* (2000) 86, cat. No. I.86, Bemmann (1994) 82-90, 112-125. Thompson (1973), Smith (1994) 90. Second-first century inscriptions in the sanctuary of Egyptian gods in Thessolonike

echoed in the creation of the Tychaion, which expressed ties among Tyche, Alexander, and the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemy I Soter. The Ptolemaic use of Tyche was mirrored in the Seleucid empire, where Tyche and Apollo were the guarantors of the dynasty in Antioch.[760] Even in the mid-first century BCE, Antiochus I of Commagene (64-38 BCE) indicated on his royal tomb that Tyche was, in part, responsible for his success and rule.[761] As we have seen, these Greek models were followed in Rome by the late Republican need to promote the idea of Fortuna as guarantor (in turn preceded by the tradition of the Servian Fortuna).

Cleopatra, like all Ptolemaic queens, also was considered the living Isis. She appeared as such next to Mark Antony, dressed up as Dionysus to emulate Alexander the Great (Dio 50.5). Isis was a prominent goddess in Egyptian religion, an Egyptian Demeter responsible for the flooding of the Nile, the life line of Egypt, and shipping, hence her associations with the lighthouse of Alexandria (Isis Pharia), and sailing (Isis Euploia, Isis Pelagia, and Isis Navigans).[762] Isis often appears with the cornucopia to express her role in shipping, grain, and her responsibility for the fortune of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

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show that the idea became diffuse in the Greek East: *IG* X.II.1.95-96 (to Isis Tyche Agathe), 99 (to Isis Tyche). See Gasparro (1996) 319.

[760] Tyche of Antioch: Chapter 1, 21ff.

[761] Pollitt (1986) 274-275, Smith (1991) 226-228, fig. 282.

[762] Turcan (1996) 75-129, M. Malaise, "Iside ellenistica," in Arslan (1997), 86-95, catalogue entries 96-117, III.1-36, esp. Isis and Demeter: 108 cat. III.21-22. For the syncretistic form of Isis with the attributes of Ceres, in a house (134- before 212 CE) covered over during the construction

Besides Tyche and Demeter, Isis also became closely associated with Venus,[763] which Julius Caesar took advantage of by dedicating a gilded statue of her in the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium (Dio 51.22.3, Appian, *Bell. Civ*. 2.102).

The extent to which Isis and Tyche (and Fortuna) merged deserves further consideration because the dedications to Isistyche are rare and late in date in a Roman context.[764] The fact that Romans never used the term "Isis-Fortuna"[765] suggests that this modern conventional term and its implications in the cult of Fortuna are misleading. For example, one inscription from Gaul records a dedication of a statue of Fortuna to Isis-Augusta: *Isidi Aug(ustae) Q. Obellius Euangelus signum Fortunae.*[766] Was the statue of Fortuna with Egyptian features, or was it a standard depiction of Fortuna? It is unclear in this context whether or not the statue of Fortuna was depicted as Isistyche or not.

Coarelli has continually argued that Isis and Tyche, syncretized as Isistyche as early as the second century BCE, also became an important part of

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of the Baths of Caracalla: LTUR (1996), J. Calzini Gysens, "Isis-Demeter, Lararium (Domus sotto le Thermae Antoninianae," III.114-115.

[763] Arslan (1997) p. 92, p. 109-112, cat III.23-28.

[764] Graffitti, addresed in Greek to "Isityche," found within the Iseum of Pompeii [Tran Tam Tinh (1964) 79-81, Coarelli (1994) 119] demonstrates that the idea of "Isistyche" was conceived in the Greek and only addressed in Greek, rather than in Latin. Except for this piece of evidence, the material remains of the temple do not include any other reference or depiction of Isis with the accoutrements of Fortuna. For a recent review of the "Isis-Fortuna" evidence: Giardina (2000) 225-239.

[765] E.g., Isis-Fortuna category: Tran Tam Tinh (1990) 784-786 (303-318), 794-795, Tran Tam Tinh (1964) passim, Coralini (1996) 233-234.

the Italian Fortuna cult by the end of the second century BCE.[767] Through the careful analysis of a handful of inscriptions, he concludes that this deity arrived in Italy through Italic interactions with the cults of Isis and Tyche in Delos, having a profound effect on the cult of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, resulting in the construction of what he identifies as an Iseum in the lower sanctuary there.

In contrast to Coarelli, other scholars, such as Champeaux and Meyboom, have argued against the early arrival of Isistyche in Italy, the identification of the Iseum in Praeneste[768] and the supposed second century BCE date of the black stone "Isis–Fortuna"/ Isis Pelagia statue.[769] Indeed, notwithstanding the close affinity of Isis and Tyche in the East by the second century BCE, the close rapport between the two goddesses in the West does not become apparent before the late first century BCE. It is possible that the depiction of Isis with the features of Fortuna was not officially introduced in Rome until the time of Julius Caesar, coinciding with his designs for the Iseum in the Campus Martius.[770] The

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766 Arslan (1997) 554, VI.5, dated to no more precisely than "the imperial period." It was found in Lyon, France, in the Fourvière district and is currently located in the Musée de la Civilisation in Lyon, inv. no. 202.

767 Coarelli (1994) 119-129.

768 Chapter 1, fn. 183.

769 Meyboom (1995) 209 fn. 35, 36, Zevi (1979) 20-21, Rausa (1997) VIII.136 II. 10e.179 date the statue to the Antonine period, *contra* Lauro (1978) 199-213, Agnoli (2000) 61-68, as discussed in Chapter 2.

770 With Octavian's conquest of Egypt, the phenomenon of Egyptomania flooded Roman art markets, and Alexandrian artists were very popular in Rome. The Yellow frieze in the so-called House of Livia (30 BCE) (actually part of the House of Augustus complex) and imperial residence under the Villa Farnesina [Galinsky (1996) 185 fig. 102] both depict Isis figures holding cornucopiae, the frequent symbol of Fortuna, e.g., Simon (1990) 60. These conflated images of Fortuna and Isis may have been introduced already during Julius Caesar's development of the cult of Isis in the Campus Martius.

evidence for Isis in Praeneste is circumstantial (such as the Nile Mosaic) or imperial in date (a Claudian-dated obelisk, and an inscription mentioning a Serapeum (157 CE: *CIL* XIV 2901). The only secure appearance of Isistyche in Praeneste is a dedication to this deity in an inscription dating to 157 CE (*CIL* XIV 2867).[771]

In fact, the majority of the material evidence of Isis cults in Italy is imperial, e.g., the imperial phases of the Isium Metellium, Iseum in the Campus Martius, and the Iseum of Pompeii.[772] Very little evidence from these cult sites clearly supports the clear and consistent syncretism of Fortuna and Isis. In contrast, the large number of so-called Isis-Fortuna statuettes in Pompeii and numerous small shrines, such as the Constantinian "Lararium of 'Isis-Fortuna'," on the Esquiline and the Severan Sacello di Silvano in Ostia, demonstrate that associations between the goddesses are close in Italy only during the imperial period.[773]

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[771] Nile Mosaic: Meyboom (1995) passim. Claudian obelisks: M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* (1972) 95-97, no. 1-5. Serapeum: *CIL* 14.2901. Isistyche inscription: Champeaux (1996) 15-37. The inscription: *L. Sariolenus/ Naeuius Fastus/ Consularis/ ut Triuiam in Iunonario/ ut in pronao aedis / statuam Antonini August. / Apollinis* ***Isityches*** *Spei/ ita et hanc Mineruam/ Fortunae Primigeniae/ dono dedit/ cum ara.* The statue of Isistyche, along with the other statues, is dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia, the opposite situation of the previously discussed inscription, describing a statue of Fortuna dedicated to Isis.

[772] Iseum Metellium: fn. 755, Iseum of the Campus Martius: see above, Iseum of Pompeii: *Alle richerche di Iside* (1992).

[773] For the so-called Isis-Fortuna statuettes of Pompeii: Tran Tam Tinh (1972), (1990) passim; several examples of the statuettes from Italy are documented in Arslan (1997) 265-270, 443, 445. Sacello di Silvano (see Chapter 3, 173, Illus. 3.4), in which Isis and Fortuna are two distinct, though related, figures. "Lararium of 'Isis-Fortuna'": *LTUR* (1996), J. Calzini Gysens, "Isis-Fortuna, Lararium (Via G. Lanza; Reg. V)," III.115, Takács (1995) 151-153 for an example of the second century CE conflation of Fortuna and Isis in Noreia, in the province of Noricum.

The planning (and possible construction) of an Iseum in the Campus Martius was, therefore, an opportune moment for Julius Caesar to emphasize his regal aspirations. It may have been marked by the official introduction of the "Isis-Fortuna" statuary, creating a strong symbolic tie between Cleopatra and the goddess Isis. Furthermore, the Iseum, and the cult of Isis could be linked thematically, through Isis' association with Venus, Minerva, Ceres, and Fortuna, with nearby structures in the Campus Martius, such as the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei and the Porticus Minucia, and the Temple of Venus Victrix in the Theater of Pompey. The Augustan period witnessed various responses to the Isis cult in Rome.[774]

However, the next time that Isis would enjoy such prominence in Rome would be under the Flavians.[775] Does the particular upsurge in "Isis-Fortuna" statuettes in Pompeii represent a favorable reaction to the new dynasty's focus on Fortuna and Isis, or is it an independent movement? The Flavians were

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774 E.g., Dio 53.2.4, 54.6.6, Takács (1995) 71ff. The Iseum, if on the same site of the Domitianic Iseum, as is generally assumed [*LTUR* (1996), F. Coarelli, "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio, Isis Campensis," III.107-109], was probably part of Agrippa's restructuring of the Saepta Iulia. The Augustan age marks the "Egyptomania" craze, already present in Italy by the late Republic, at its highest peak. See Egyptomania: De Vos (1980), Villa Agrippae under the Villa Farnesina: Bragantini and De Vos (1982). so-called House of Livia: *LTUR* (1993), I. Iacopi, "Domus: Livia," I.130-132. Campana plaques with Isis: G. Carettoni (1971-72) 123-140, Strazzulla, (1990). Aula Isiaca: G. E. Rizzo, *Monumenti della pittura antica* III, Roma Fasc. II, 1936, G. Carettoni, *NSc* (1971) 323-326, Richardson (1992) 46. Pyramid of Cestius: *LTUR* (1999), C. Krause, "Sepulcrum: C. Cestius," IV.278-279, Richardson (1992) 353-354.In many of these wall paintings, Isis with the attributes of Tyche (and Fortuna) features prominently, which would have been easily recognizable by the Roman viewing audience.

775 Takács (1995) 94-104.

particularly fond of the Egyptian goddess;[776] Domitian, in particular, once escaped from certain death during the civil war of 69 by disguising himself as a worshipper of Isis.[777] Domitian himself was a worshipper, constructing the massive Temple of Isis and Serapis (and related Temple of Minerva Chalcidica) after the fire in the Campus Martius in 80CE, apparently conflating the identities of Minerva and Isis, both related to Fortuna by the end of the Republic, as noted above.[778] Tacitus remarks on the *Fortuna Flaviana* and its relationship with Isis, and Pliny's well-known assessment of Fortuna (*N.H*. 2.22) is contemporary with the Flavian interest in Fortuna Redux.[779]

After Caesar's death, the Iseum project was apparently taken over by the triumvirs in 43 BCE (Dio 47.16), although we are unsure whether or not Caesar's project had only been in the planning stages. The triumvirs made a point to carry out the project to attain favor with the recently departed Cleopatra, still an important political figure,[780] as well as maintain the symbolic associations promoted by Julius Caesar, among Isis, Fortuna, Ceres, and Venus, in line with Alexandrian and Roman politics. That these associations continued during the time of Augustus is evident in the constructions of the Pantheon and the Temple of Bonus Eventus in the Agrippan Campus Martius.

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776 Liebeschuetz (1979) 180-1.
777 Tac., *Hist*. 3.74.1; Suet., *Dom*. 1.4.
778 The Flavians' association of Fortuna with Isis may be paralleled with Domitian's identification of Minerva as an equivalent of Isis. See Liebeschuetz (1979) 181. Häuber (1998) 83ff.
779 Scott (1968) 70-84. Pliny *NH*. 2.22: Chapter 2, 134ff. Fortuna Redux and the Flavians: see below.

The Augustan Campus Martius related to Fortuna: Euripus and Temple of Bonus Eventus

The numerous waterworks, many of which were probably projected or begun by Julius Caesar, include the Euripus and Stagnum. In addition, the construction of the Caesarian "delta," part of the Iseum on the eastern side of the Saepta (originally a Caesarian project), may have been a way for Caesar to link the water theme of the Alexandrian Tychaion (if the pre-Agrippan foundation under the Pantheon are Caesarian, as they appear to be) to Isis, another Alexandrian cult, in Rome.

Nearby the Stagnum Agrippae, west of the Thermae Agrippae, was the Temple of Bonus Eventus.[781] Originally an agricultural god, as noted by Varro (*de re rust*. 1.1.6), the god appears in Hellenized form on the Capitoline during the late Republic, through two statue dedications strongly affiliated with agriculture (via Triptolemus, initiate of the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter) and

[780] Williams (2000) 140. The land of the Iseum may have become part of the Horti Antoni.
[781] Wissowa (1912) 267, Axtell (1907) 30-31, Arias (1986) 123-126, Richardson (1992) 60. Coarelli (1997) 294-296, *LTUR* (1993) C. Buzzetti, "Bonus Eventus," I.202-203.

Agathe Tyche.[782] Coarelli has also noted Bonus Eventus' connection with Lympha in the Campus Martius,[783] an appropriate tie, given the location of the temple of Bonus Eventus along the border of the Stagnum. Bonus Eventus was also strongly linked to the cult of Felicitas,[784] both of which, as previously discussed, were closely affiliated with the cult of Fortuna.[785]

The earliest appearance of Bonus Eventus is the coinage of L. Scribonius Libo, dated to 62 BCE.[786] Whereas this date suggests the hand of Pompey, or Julius Caesar, the temple eventually became an important symbol for Augustus, who dedicated the temple on his birthday, September 23 (Degrassi 63, 512).[787] On this day, Augustus also rededicated five other Republican temples in the Campus Martius.[788] The prominent placement of the temple dedication on such an crucial date in the Augustan calendar suggests the importance of the cult in the Campus Martius and its related role with the surrounding Augustan (and Agrippan) buildings. Bonus Eventus literally conveyed the "successful outcome"

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[782] Chapter 3, 175.
[783] Coarelli (1997) 294-296, Varro (*de re rust*. 1.1.6): *Nec non etiam precor Lympham ac Bonum Eventum, quoniam sine aqua omnis arida ac misera agricultura, sine successu ac bono eventu frustratio est, non cultura.*
[784] Coarelli (1997) 294-296.
[785] Chapter 3, 162ff., 175ff.
[786] *RRC* 416/ 51. Obverse: unbearded male head, right, with band around hair. Behind: LIBO (left) BON EVENT (right). Reverse: puteal. In contrast, Coarelli (1997) 295 suggests a date of 34 BCE for the coin.
[787] Coarelli (1997) 294 suggests that the Temple of Felicitas "in Campo Martio," mentioned only in the *Fasti palatii Urbinatis*, could be the Temple of Bonus Eventus, given the affinity of the two cults for one another. However, the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei "in Campo Martio" is just as likely a candidate.
[788] Degrassi 512: Temples of Mars, Neptune, Apollo, Jupiter Stator, and Jupiter Regina.

and the sentiments of victory that Augustus celebrated after his defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.[789]

The water theme, associated with the Tychaion (the canal), Pantheon (stairs flanked by fountains), Iseum (the delta), and Bonus Eventus (Stagnum), is very prominent in the cult of Fortuna, another reason why the choice of the Tychaion as model for the Pantheon is so appropriate with the other buildings in the Campus Martius. We already noted the architectural affinity of the Pantheon for the smaller, earlier Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei. Fortuna was strongly associated with commerce in the Campus Martius, given the role of this Fortuna temple in the Porticus Minucia and the Annona. The Fortuna temple in the Forum Boarium, was an early site for trade and commerce in the city.[790] Fortuna's role in harbors would grow under the empire noticeably (see below), preceded by the Forum Boarium Fortuna temple (by the emporium with its series of docks) and the harbor in Antium. The cult of Fors Fortuna, along the Tiber banks was another early Fortuna cult associated with transportation.[791]

Water was a common feature of Fortuna cults, such as the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, or smaller shrines such as the Fortuna Tullianum and Fortuna Virilis in Rome.[792] Fortuna also featured prominently in the baths and

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[789] See Chapter 5, 311ff. for further discussion of Fortuna in the Roman calendar.
[790] Palmer (1990) 242-244.
[791] Simon (1990) 64-66.
[792] Irrigation of the sanctuary at Praeneste: Fasolo-Gullini (1953). *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Tullianum," 279, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Virilis," II.280, Richardson (1992) 158, Champeaux (1982) 207, 379-401.

the public latrines (often part of bath complexes, flushed by the water of aqueducts), as noted by Fronto (*de oration*. 6, p. 157 N), in the form of shrines or statuary.

AUGUSTAN AND VESPASIANIC PHASES OF A FOUNTAIN WITH STATUE OF FORTUNA IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

The following is a new hypothesis regarding a sculptural monument in the Campus Martius, located between two Augustan buildings, the Theater of Marcellus and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (or *in Circo*). La Rocca identifies the structure as a perirrhanterion (ornamental water basin).[793] Although the material evidence is fragmentary and absolute proof is impossible, I suggest that this fountain structure was decorated with a statue of Fortuna in the Flavian, and possibly Augustan, phases of the monument. The fountain and its statue constitute a dynastic monument, representing the strong ties between both emperors, Augustus and Vespasian, and Fortuna, through their demonstrable relationship to surrounding buildings as well as their association with the Tyche of Antioch statue and its architectural surroundings in Antioch.

[793] La Rocca (1993) 17-29, La Rocca (1995) 108-110, *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Perirrhanterion," IV.79-80.

The earliest mention of the water basin takes place during the Sullan period.[794] While Sulla was convening a meeting with the senate in the Temple of Bellona, Catiline arrived with the decapitated head of M. Marius Gratidianus, Sulla's political enemy. After showing the head, Catiline washed his hands in a perirrhanterion (Plu., *Sull*. 32) in the nearby vicinity. The basin was close to the Temple of Bellona, which was in the immediate vicinity of the Temple of Apollo "in Circo" and the future site of the Theater of Marcellus.[795] Other evidence suggests that the fountain, whose round shape was commonly used to depict fountains throughout the city, may have been part of a natural spring.[796]

La Rocca has reexamined Colini's excavation in the area (who previously identified the extant round foundations as an altar),[797] identifying the travertine foundation of a monopteros (diameter 5.20 meters). He has tentatively dated it between the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods.[798] The marble fragments of the monument, instead, can be securely dated to the Flavian period. They are now on display in the ex-ACEA Montemartini Power Plant museum (which contains part of the Capitoline Museums collections): a Pentelic marble Corinthian-order colonnade (forming the monopteros) with an entablature carved with laurel leaves

[794] Ibid.
[795] Richardson (1992) 57-58, *LTUR* (1993) A. Viscogliosi, "Bellona, aedes in Circo," I.190-192.
[796] *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Perirrhanterion," IV.79-80.
[797] A.M. Colini, *BCom* 68 (1940) 228ff.
[798] *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Perirrhanterion," IV.79-80, which is based on a new, preliminary examination.

and bucrania. The partially-preserved inscription on the entablature reads: *Imp. Caesar Vesp[asianus*].[799]

The monument is of obvious importance to the nearby monuments, since it is located along the curve of the Theater of Marcellus and is on axis with the steps of the Temple of Apollo, two important Augustan monuments. Given the intentional architectural relationship with these two structures, it is probable that the design of the monument was, in fact, Augustan, part of the revitalization of the area, if not earlier.

The theater-temple association originated in the second-century BCE building phase in the area.[800] Both the Temple of Apollo and the position of the theater (completed and dedicated to Marcellus by Augustus in 13 BCE) originated as a Caesarian project.[801] Viscogliosi suggests that Sosius, who served as a lieutenant under Julius Caesar, had been designated to reconstruct the Temple of Apollo, while Caesar was still alive. Later, when Sosius became a partisan of Mark Antony, he planned the project to rival Octavian's Temple of Apollo Palatinus. After Octavian's victory, the temple went through an apparent architectural change. It was not dedicated under Sosius' name, nor was it mentioned in Augustus' *Res Gestae* as the princeps' project; however, it had become an Augustan monument by the time of its dedication, since it was

[799] Ibid.
[800] *LTUR* (1993) A. Viscogliosi, "Apollo, aedes in Circo," I.49-54, Viscogliosi (1996). Gros (1976), Zanker (1988a) 66ff.

dedicated on September 23, Augustus' birthday (like the Temple of Bonus Eventus).[802]

Given Vespasian's own self-promoted association with Augustus, the fountain would have been an appropriate monument to rebuild along with the theater, which he restored after a fire (Suet., *Vesp*. 19.1). The theater itself was an important dynastic monument since it housed the first statue of the divine Augustus "ad theatrum Marcelli," (before the construction of the Temple of Divus Augustus) and was in the vicinity of other dynastic monuments in the nearby Circus Flaminius.[803]

The monopteros-theater combination of the Theater of Marcellus finds a parallel in the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste. Its theme of theater and temple were imitated in Tivoli and Rome (e.g., Hercules Victor, Pompey's theater complex). In addition, on the Palatine, the Temple of Mater Magna had a theater,[804] in the vicinity of the round (tholos-like) hut of Romulus,[805] all of which became associated with the house of Augustus.

The tholos-like colonnade around the fountain also conveys affiliations between Fortuna and the imperial cult. The Fortuna Huiusce Diei in the Campus Martius, if not the Pantheon were both tholos structures, as I have previously

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[801] Ibid.
[802] Ibid., Gros (1976), Zanker (1988a) 66-67.
[803] *LTUR* (1993) A. Viscogliosi, "Circus Flaminius," I.269-272.
[804] *LTUR* (1996) P. Pensabene, "Magna Mater, aedes," III.206-208, Richardson (1992) 242-243.

discussed. On the Acropolis in Athens, the architectural form chosen to venerate Augustus and Rome also was a tholos, in the shadow of far larger Greek structures, such as the Parthenon, as the fountain in Rome was under the shadow of the Augustan Temple of Apollo the Theater of Marcellus.[806]

A thematic and visual link exists between the Apollo Temple and Fortuna in Rome. Niobid statuary associated with the Temple of Apollo may have constituted the secondary pedimental sculptural group of the Temple of Apollo (the other pediment, facing the theater, decorated with an Amazonomachy).[807] In a recent examination of the Niobid statuary of Rome, some of which has long been associated with the *Horti* Sallustiani, E. Talamo has suggested (based on the findsites of the statuary) that the statues found there originally were part of the pedimental statuary group of one of the Tres Fortunae temples at the Porta Collina.[808] The insertion of the same mythological statue group in the Temple of Apollo and in one of the Fortuna temples, possibly already used, thematically, by Caesar when he created his *horti* in the area (Chapter 3, 208ff.), confirms the association of Fortuna and Apollo under Augustus.

A similar thematic link also may exist between the Temple of Apollo and the fountain. When stationed in Cilicia, Sosius acquired the cedar statue of

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[805] The hut of Romulus was rebuilt continuously during the imperial period (Dion. Hal. 1.79.11), next to the theater and temple of Mater Magna. *LTUR* (1993) F. Coarelli, "Casa Romuli (Cermalus)," I.241-242, Richardson (1992) 74-75.
[806] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 156-159, following Binder (1969). Galinsky (1996) 130, 133.
[807] La Rocca (1984) 71-72.
[808] Talamo (1998) 113-169, , esp. 143-150.

Apollo from nearby Seleucia; Apollo, with Tyche, was the patron god of the Seleucid dynasty. Sosius later placed it in the Temple of Apollo *in Circo* (Pliny, *N.H.* 13.53). Regarding the Seleucid's other patron, Tyche, the famous statue, the Tyche of Antioch (examined in Chapter 1), was located in an architectural space very similar to the space in the Campus Martius: in a baldacchino within a fountain that was part of a theater.[809]

The archaeological evidence in the nearby vicinity of the Theater of Marcellus includes two statues of Fortuna. A small (75 cm high) Pentelic marble statue of a replica of the Tyche of Antioch statue of exceptional quality (notwithstanding its poor state of conservation) was found by the theater. Although too small and too late for the Vespasianic fountain, it does have a water channel, used for a fountain.[810]

More impressive and striking are the fragments of a colossal black stone statue, also found in the vicinity of the theater. Paribeni, sustained by Agnoli, has identified the statue as the cult statue of Fortuna (a so-called Isis-Fortuna type) that belonged to the Temple of Fortuna in S. Omobono, the closest temple of Fortuna in the area (which, as we will discuss in Chapter 5, has been attributed as the Temple of Fortuna Redux by Coarelli).[811] As noted previously in the

[809] For the discussion of the Tyche of Antioch: Chapter 1, 21ff. The organization of the statue in the surroundings of the theater, and fountain, may have been an imperial Roman creation, rather than part of a Hellenistic sculptural program.
[810] Dohrn (1960) 22-23 (who dates the statue after 150 CE), Balty (1981) 851, Ridgway (1990) 233-238. Discussed in Chapter 1, 31ff.
[811] Paribeni (1990) 132, figs. 20-23, Agnoli (2000) 28.

discussion of Fortuna and Isis, the affinity of the two goddesses for one another was much stronger in Italy in the imperial period, particularly during the Flavian reign. Such a statue would have fit within the confines of the round Pentelic colonnade placed around the fountain, reflecting the Flavian interest in Fortuna as much as quoting the Tyche of Antioch statue group, if not a reconstruction of a previous Augustan fountain.[812]

In conclusion, multiple aspects of the Caesarian, Agrippan, and Augustan building plans in the Campus Martius (followed by the Flavians) reflect victory through Fortuna. Many of these structures were overtly based on Alexandrian precedents. Fortuna already was strongly linked to monuments of the Republican past in the Campus Martius, such as Pompey's Theater complex and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei. The projects of Caesar (most of which were completed or modified by Agrippa and Augustus) and the projects of Agrippa and Augustus, many of which underline the power and image of Fortuna, in particular, the Pantheon, empowered the princeps and asserted the divine right of the divi filius.

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812 Robinson (2001), who discusses Roman period fountain constructions in Corinth, e.g., a small basin in the "northeast peristyle court," north of the scaenae frons of the Theater, installed in second century CE, p. 293-307. In Chapter 8, 329-357, she analyzes a possible monumental statue group of Scylla installed in the Peirene fountain during the second century CE. Throughout her study, Robinson demonstrates that fountains were constantly maintained, but frequently modified (p. 385), as I have argued for the fountain by the Theater of Marcellus. I thank the author for providing me with her time and access to her important study. For further discussion of the Flavian interest in the cult of Fortuna, see Chapter 5, 361ff.

Chapter 5: Fortuna in Augustan Rome: Fortuna as Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, kingmaker and guarantor of dynastic succession

Fortuna continued to thrive during the imperial period for three main reasons. First, the Roman emperors readily adopted for their own purpose the Western Greek and Eastern use of Tyche as kingmaker and integrated it with Fortuna's indigenous personality in Rome, already expropriated by late Republican generals for self–aggrandizement. These actions are manifest most clearly in the guise of Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, both creations of the Augustan age.

Second, Fortuna, very much a part of the national identity of Rome during the third and second centuries BCE, was utilized by the *principes* as a means of demonstrating the superiority of the state and the emperor over all other peoples and nations (i.e., the oikoumene). This involved her role as personal protectress of the emperor, eventually evolving into the guarantor of dynasties and dynastic succession. The cult of Fortuna Augusta also developed spontaneously, through the interest of private citizens, in particular, in the Western half of the empire.

Third, in the first and second centuries CE, the proliferation of images of Fortuna as fickle deity pervaded Graeco-Roman society on all socio-economic

levels to a much greater degree than in any preceding period, as the result of Fortuna's popularity with all, from emperor to non-elite, parallel to the growing dominance of popular Stoicism in this period. These phenomena added to the complexities of the persona of Fortuna and her function, which are the subject of this chapter.

The new cult of Fortuna Redux, founded to honor Augustus on the occasion of his return to the city from the East, was the fruit of continued interest in the cult of Fortuna in Rome in the last century BCE. These developments are apparent in Fortuna's prominent role in Horace's *Ode* 1.35, which anticipates the official conception of the altar of Fortuna Redux. Fortuna's relationship with the *Lares*, *tutela*, and *genius* in the private sphere evolved into Fortuna's role as *comes* (companion) of the emperor. On the Mars Ultor pediment in the Forum Augustum, the public version of Augustus' domus, Fortuna appears prominently with other Augustan gods, the guardian of Augustus and his legacy.

The altar of Fortuna Redux was the first of a series of imperial altars destined to promote the persona of the emperor on whom the city and its citizens' well-being now depended. The altar, and the later Temple of Fortuna Redux, were associated with the military triumph in Rome as well as the well-being of the emperor. With the successive development of the cult of Fortuna Augusta, Fortuna Redux becomes the symbol, par excellence, of kingmaker and guarantor

of dynastic succession, for the Julio-Claudians, Flavians, Antonines, and Severans, and beyond, notwithstanding the sometimes uncertain nature of the goddess.

FORTUNA AS A ROMAN "BLESSING"

The terms "personification," "abstraction," "quality or condition," "virtue," and "blessing" have been used in modern scholarship to describe the group of deities particular to Roman religion;[813] such parallels exist in the Greek world as well.[814] The modern terminologies depend on the following three ancient passages. Cicero (*De leg*. 2.11.28) describes this category of deities as *virtutes* (Mens, Pietas, Virtus, Fides) and *res expetendae* (Vica Pota, Stata, Salus, Honos, Ops, Victoria, Spes, Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Fortuna Respiciens, Fors Fortuna, and Fortuna Primigenia). In another passage, Cicero (*De Nat. Deor*. 2.61) considers the deities Fides, Mens, Virtus, Honos, Salus, Concordia, Libertas, Victoria, *utilitates*. Pliny the Elder (*N.H.* 2.7.5.14-17) puts the goddesses Pudicitia, Concordia, Mens, Spes, Honos, Clementia, and Fides. At the same time, in these passages, Cicero and Pliny deprecate the existence of certain deities in the same

[813] Wissowa (1912) 327-338, Axtell (1907), Charlesworth (1937) 105-133, Mattingly (1937) 103-117, Latte (1960), Lind (1974) 108-119, Fears (1981c) 827-948, Wallace-Hadrill (1981) 298-323, Fishwick (1987) 455-474. Within this study of Fortuna, the term "blessing" will be applied throughout, rather than the other modern nomenclature, according to Fishwick's cited study.

classification, including the Altar of Mala Fortuna on the Esquiline, not because such deities did not exist, but because their inherent meaning (and in the case of Mala Fortuna, the epithet) was bluntly negative.[815]

Like all gods of Roman religion, these deities have *numina*, as well. A *numen*, distinguished from *genius* (defined below), is "power" or "a result of the existence of power," whether animate or inanimate, denoting the quintessential property or characteristic of a god.[816] The *numen* was first applied to other gods, then to the senate (Cic., *Phil*. 3.32), people of Rome (Cic., *post red. Ad Quir*. 8.18), and *pontifices* (Cic., *De domo sua* 39.104);[817] finally, it was applied to Augustus, beginning with the Tiberian Altar of the Numen Augusti dedicated in Rome on January 17, 6 CE (Degrassi 115, 401). The Numen Augusti implies the divinity that resided in Augustus (rather than the divinity of Augustus), whose cult spread throughout the empire.[818]

Public and private worship of these "blessings," in the form of temples and dedicatory inscriptions, attests to the sincerity of the worshippers and to the

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[814] E.g., Stafford (1997) 1-44, passim. The two passages in Cicero, cited below, echo the Stoic teachings of Carneades (second century BCE), quoted in Sextus Empiricus (*Against the Mathematicians* 9.186-188).

[815] At the same Cicero ridicules the existence of Greek Contumelia and Impudentia, and Roman Febris, Mala Fortuna (*De leg*. 2.11.28), Cupido, Voluptas, and Venus Libitina (*De Nat. Deor*. 2.61). Pliny (*N.H*. 2.7.5.14-17), following Cic. *De Nat. Deor*. 2.61 chastises the worship of Febris, Orbona, and Mala Fortuna. Notwithstanding these comments, the uncertain side of Fortuna existed and was a recognizable feature in every form of Fortuna's cult in Rome, adding to the complexity of her character. Mala Fortuna: Chapter 2.

[816] Fishwick (1987) 375-387, esp. 383, Beard et al. (1998) I.354-355.

[817] Ibid., 384.

[818] Ibid., 375-422, *LTUR* (1996), D. Palombi, "N[umen] Augusti, ara," III.349.

complexity of these cults in Rome. We are dealing with gods, and not just "deified (or personified) concepts or abstractions."[819] These "blessings" had important political-religious significance, conveying power and prestige to their dedicators. We have already examined the importance of the Greek Hellenistic topoi Arete and Tyche, and Roman cults of Virtus (and Honos) and Fortuna (and Felicitas).[820]

The many cults dedicated to this group of "blessings" prominently include the cult of Fortuna, whose numen was manifested in numerous forms in Rome. She is frequently the recipient of both private dedications as well as public cults, as previously discussed.[821] In the imperial period, most dedications and imperial coinage of Fortuna tend to name Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, over any other epithet of Fortuna.[822]

The cult of Fortuna Redux depended on a specific historical moment, the return of Augustus to Rome on October 12, 19 BCE (*RG* 11). Regarding Fortuna Augusta, as with so many other gods during the Augustan period (e.g., Victoria Augusta, Concordia Augusta), the personalized epithet "Augustus/i" was appended to many cults. It represents the culmination of late Republican religious

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[819] Fears (1981c) passim, with bibliography. For the various "virtue" or "blessing" cults in Rome, see the various entries in Steinby (1993-1999), Richardson (1992), Platner and Ashby (1965) passim.
[820] E.g., Chapter 3, 145ff., 162ff.
[821] Kajanto (1981) 509ff, Chapters 2-3. Fortuna was addressed with both positive and negative-conveying epithets: Graf (1997) 4.600.

development, from the Victoria Sullae, the many cults of Julius Caesar, including the Victoria and Clementia Caesaris.[823] The personality of Fortuna was also reflected in many Caesarian projects, completed or redesigned during the Augustan age,[824] enhancing her position in the city and complementing the two new imperial Fortuna cults. Although Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta are generally described as, respectively, the "power that guarded the return of the emperor from dangerous foreign journeys" and the "guardian spirit of the emperor,"[825] the two cults meant much more, as we will explore below.

HORACE'S ODE I.35

Horace's *Ode* I.35 stands as a landmark of the complicated, and ultimately Roman, identity of Fortuna at the beginning of the imperial period.[826] The poem is related, thematically, to the previous ode I.34, a meditation on the unpredictable personality of Fortuna. I.34 addresses a fickle Fortuna in lines 14-16. I.35.1-4, 9-12 records the ambivalent effect Fortuna has over every station in life. In these

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[822] Fears (1981c) 867, 889, 899, 931, 935, 936, Kajanto (1981) 517-518, Kajanto (1988) 38, Fortuna is the most frequently addressed "blessing" in inscriptions: Fears (1981c) 931, 935, MacMullen (1981) 6-7, Axtell (1907) 87.
[823] Augustus/i epithet: Fishwick (1987) 462-465, Fears (1981c) 886-889.
[824] Chapter 4.
[825] E.g., Kajanto (1981) 517.
[826] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 387 date the poem broadly to 35- 27/26 BCE. Quinn (1980) suggests 26 BCE. General bibliography includes: Coster (1950) 65-80; Jacobson (1968) 106-113; Collard (1970) 122-127; Perret (1970) 244-253; Syndikus (1972) 311-324; Nadeau (1986) 223-229.

two stanzas of I.35, Nisbet and Hubbard acknowledge the capricious power of Tyche on Fortuna, "as the agent of change and political revolution," but, in light of the rest of the poem, they assert that the goddess in the poem is, "more serious and more Roman." The authors conclude that Horace ultimately addresses a, "stern and beneficent power," and a "personification of good success."[827]

Greek background and influences on Fortuna in the poem

Their assessment of Fortuna in the poem coincides with Champeaux's interpretation of Fortuna in the late Republic, i.e., a benevolent deity who has little in common with the negative connotations more clearly associated with Tyche.[828] Horace's poem does, indeed, contain topoi describing Fortuna with the language Greek authors applied to characterize the fickle, untrustworthy qualities of Tyche, which first appeared in Latin literature in the second century.

Greek poems dedicated to Tyche also are predecessors. Pindar's *Twelfth Olympian* notes Tyche's saving power (soteira) and her power over land and sea, in regard to the city of Himera. These themes are appropriate for the port-city of Antium, whose patron goddess, Fortuna (which existed in dual form), was the addressee of the poem. The Fortuna temple of Antium was located in the harbor,

[827] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 387.
[828] Chapter 2, 56ff.

overlooking the site of Augustus' departure from and return to Italy on various occasions.[829]

Nisbet and Hubbard also note that two Hellenistic hymns address Tyche (*PMG* 1019 and *GLP* 99). The second hymn mentions the Greek goddess Necessity, as does the I.35.17 (Necessitas). The authors cite these and other generic Greek hymn qualities in the poem, including a list of the goddess' powers, list of divine attendants, and the conclusion of the hymn as a direct prayer to the goddess.[830]

In their estimation, all of these qualities have little to do with the real character of the goddess Fortuna and her cults in Antium and Rome.[831] Their interpretation of the personality of Fortuna in the poem echoes Kajanto's general assessment of Fortuna in Roman literature: Fortuna rarely appears as a goddess of Roman cult and usually as a topos reflecting Hellenistic Greek precedents.[832]

"Roman" qualities of Fortuna in the poem

The authors also suggest that the poem predominately contains imagery referring to the "Roman" attributes of Fortuna. Horace describes the attendants of

[829] For the relationship between the Fortunae of Antium and the Altar of Fortuna Redux, see below.
[830] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 386-387.
[831] Ibid., 386-400.
[832] Kajanto (1981) passim, and Fortuna in literature: Chapter 2, 93ff.

Fortuna as other deities of Rome, associated with Fortuna in Roman cultic circumstances as of the second century BCE.[833] The instruments that they carry belong to Roman cults, not Greek. In particular, Nisbet and Hubbard note that the nails (*clavi*) of Necessitas may, in fact, allude to the Etruscan cult of Nortia, into whose temple wall a nail was hammered with each victory of the Volsinii (Livy 7.3.7).[834] Ultimately, the poem focuses on Fortuna and her relationship with the Roman emperor, his well-being, travels, and future successes (29–40). The poem anticipates the earliest official Augustan association with Fortuna, which was consummated with the altar of Fortuna Redux, dedicated in 19 BCE, on the occasion of Augustus' return from the East, to Rome, via the port city of Antium.[835]

The evolution of the Fortuna cults in the second and first centuries BCE suggests an even more nuanced interpretation of the details of the poem. Ode I.35's integration of "Greek" and "Roman" elements is not just the insertion of Tyche topoi into a Roman theme (i.e., Fortuna's favor of the emperor), but an

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[833] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 395-396. Fides and Spes often were associated with Fortuna during the Republic. E.g., *ILS* 3770 (Capua 110 BCE) records *mag. Spei Fidei Fortunae mur[um] faciundu coiravere*. See also *ILS* 3688, 3687. For the cult of Tyche euelpis (Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans* 323a, *quaest. Rom*. 281e), *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna euelpis," II.267, 269.

[834] Strazzulla (1993) 332ff., esp. fn. 94, 98 with an assessment of previous studies of Nortia and her relationship with Fortuna.

[835] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 388 suggest that the relationship between the emperor and Fortuna described in the poem depends on the political and religious imagery fostered by Julius Caesar with Fortuna. See below.

accurate representation of the polyvalent character of Fortuna according to an educated Roman audience.[836]

Fickle Fortuna

Although Nisbet and Hubbard argue that the goddess is benevolent, attended by friendly goddesses, such as Necessitas,[837] Fides, and Spes, the implements they wield, weapons and instruments of torture, hardly seem fitting for such a "beneficent" goddess. Instead, the goddesses appear, ready to administer Fortuna's "justice" haphazardly (e.g., 23–24, *utcumque mutata potentis/ veste domos <u>inimica</u> linquis*).

Because of Horace's recognition of Fortuna's notorious fickle will (which he underlines through the vivid imagery of the reversal of individual fortunes, the overthrow of stable government, and instruments of torture in 1–28), he implores Fortuna to watch over Augustus in a hymn (29–40). The conversion of the poem from a description of Fortuna's negative effect on people's lives to a positive one,

[836] For discussion of the anecdotes about fickle Fortuna and Sulla's relationship with her: Chapter 3, 181ff.

asking Fortuna to protect Augustus, is parallel to Plutarch's description of Fortuna in *On the Fortune of the Romans* (Chapter 2). Both authors recognize and cite the negative, capricious personality of Fortuna but note the goddess' continued support for the Roman state and the well-being of the emperor.

The conclusion of I.34 and the beginning of I.35, both of which describe the whimsical will of Fortuna, do not just serve to link the two poems thematically through Greek topoi, but also refer to two famous *Roman* testimonia about the uncertain power of Fortuna. I.34.14-16 alludes to the story of Servius Tullius, who, through Fortuna, went from slave to king. The passage, although stemming from a tradition at least as old as the fourth century BCE,[838] became associated with the fickle role of Fortuna after the Hellenization of Fortuna in the second century BCE and is alluded to in I.35.2-3 (*imo tollere de gradu/ mortale corpus*).[839]

I.35.3-4 (*superbos/ vertere funeribus triumphos)* refers to Aemilius Paullus' victory over Perseus (Livy 45.40.6). The Roman general was simultaneously favored and jilted by Fortuna through his triumph and the loss of both sons in the battle to attain it. Romans acknowledged the capricious nature of Fortuna through this episode in the second century BCE, when the figure of fickle

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[837] Necessitas is equated with Nemesis and Fortuna in Plutarch, *Marius*, 23.1. On the connotation of Necessitas in this poem, see esp. Pöschl (1991) 57-61.
[838] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 385-386, Syndikus (1972) 303 with a citation of sources, and Chapter 3, fn. 475.
[839] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 389 cite many examples of uncertain Fortuna in literature: Plut., *de Fort. Rom*. 323, Manil. 4.66ff., Juv. 7.199ff., Dio Chrys. Or. 64.19, Amm. 14.11.30.

Tyche made its most obvious impact on Roman society.[840] Indeed, Aemilius Paullus' own fateful experience with Fortuna may have influenced him to construct the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens along the Triumphal Route.[841]

The Fortunae of Antium and Fortuna in Ode 1.35

Horace's appropriation of the Greek literary precedents acquires new meaning in a Roman context. The goddess addressed in the poem is Fortuna, in the singular, despite the fact that the well-known cult in Antium was dedicated to two forms of Fortuna.[842] Previously, the poem has been considered an important document of the Fortunae cults in Antium, rather than the overall concept of Fortuna in Italy. However, by identifying the goddess in the singular, Horace does not just appropriate from the language of Greek hymns (addressing Tyche), but he also alerts the reader that he considers Fortuna in a more generalized sense, an uncertain factor affecting the entire world (6–16). Therefore, the hymn is not just a direct reference to the specific Fortunae at Antium but also the single goddess Fortuna, who was venerated throughout Italy, especially at Praeneste and

[840] Strazzulla (1993), Chapter 2, 54ff., Chapter 3, 162ff.
[841] Strazzulla (1993), Chapter 3, 162ff.
[842] Chapter 2, fn. 169, Illus. 2.1.

Rome (both of which utilized Antium as an important harbor in the first century BCE).[843]

Fortuna as special companion of the emperor during his travels

Horace's focus on the safety of Augustus, in his travels and battles (I.35.29-40), associates Fortuna with the Agathe Tyche who protected Hellenistic monarchs. Indeed, Tyche, who was a fickle, capricious deity, was also a guardian of Hellenistic rulers, including the Ptolemies of Alexandria (Chapter 3) and Seleucids of Antioch (Chapter 1).

References to an expedition to Britain (34, 27, 26 BCE),[844] civil war between Mark Antony and Octavian (31 BCE) and new war in the East (post 31 BCE), suggest that the poem, in fact, postdates the civil war (over in 30 BCE, after the conquest of Alexandria).[845] The poem, however, predates the institution of the cult and altar of Fortuna Redux, created in 19 BCE in Rome, which appears on the contemporary coin of the gens Rustia with an image of the Fortunae of

[843] See the following discussion of Fortuna Redux for more analysis on the Fortunae of Antium.
[844] Dio 49.38.2, 53.22.5, 53.25.2.
[845] Fn. 828.

Antium (not by chance, as we will see below). Does Horace precociously forecast the essence of the Fortuna Redux cult in his poem, which entreats Fortuna to watch over Augustus on his voyages, or does he refer to the politically-charged images of Fortuna, more recently handled by Julius Caesar?[846] Perhaps Horace taps into this general current of Fortuna in Roman society, rather than a specific political agenda. The widespread use of Fortuna by Sulla, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Octavian represents the continuing personalization of many Roman deities, a practice initiated, as we have seen, in the second century BCE.

When Horace alludes to the role of Fortuna in Augustus' life, it probably reflects contemporary issues (and recalls Julius Caesar's Fortuna), rather than the Hellenistic kings' rapport with Tyche. For example, focus on Antium was a logical choice, given its prominent cult of Fortuna and the use of its harbor as the nearest harbor to Rome at the end of the first century BCE.[847] This may be the strongest reason for the link between the Fortuna Redux cult (purposefully dedicated at the Porta Capena in Rome, rather than Antium) and the Fortunae cults in Antium.

Closer to home, Fortuna already had accompanied Sulla during his battles, and Julius Caesar on his near-fatal trip by sea during the civil war against Pompey. In each case, Fortuna protected her favorite. Horace's hymn concludes

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[846] Nisbet and Hubbard refer to Weinstock's study of Julius Caesar in Weinstock (1971) 112-129. For a review of the book see North (1971) 171-177. I will consider new evidence in the rest of the chapter.
[847] Champeaux (1982) 149-182.

with an actual prayer to the goddess to protect Augustus during his own travels *and* eminent battles in Britain and the East (29-40).

Fortuna is the emperor's omnipresent guardian, *diva praesens* (1-2), who also frequently subverts the lives of citizens of the world, regardless of their social standing. The two characteristics of the same goddess are not mutually exclusive. The word *praesens* is a loaded religious term since it is also an epithet used to describe the cult of Fortuna Praesens, which, with Fortuna Respiciens, was associated with the Roman triumph. *Praesens* is also applied to Augustus in Ode 3.5.2-3: *praesens divus habebitur/ Augustus*, thereby strengthening the close tie between Fortuna and the emperor.[848]

FORTUNA IN THE PERSONAL AND PRIVATE SPHERES: *COMES LARES, TUTELA, GENIUS*

The appearance of Fortuna in the homes of the powerful during a period of mourning in Horace's Ode I.35.23-24 (*utcumque mutata potentis/ veste domos inimica linquis*) alludes to the private nature and chthonic[849] role of Fortuna, are other prominent "Roman" features of the goddess. Fortuna played a role in the

[848] Fears (1981c) goes to the extreme that Augustus *becomes* Fortuna, as part of the emperor's purposeful construction, but is not fully supported by the evidence. See Price (1979) 277-279, a review of Fears (1977), for a similar critique of Fears' concepts of ideology and theology in Roman religion.
[849] Brendel (1960).

private lives of Italians, which is not precisely mirrored in the Greek worship of Tyche, although both frequently are addressed in tomb inscriptions.[850]

Fortuna as *comes*

Cicero demonstrated that the "blessings," including Fortuna, were not just for mankind but also individuals (*De Nat. Deor*. 2.64), explaining also the strong relationship between *comes* and *genius* and *daimon*, other entities associated with the individual.[851] In a related passage (*De leg*. 2.11.28), Cicero describes Fortuna Primigenia *a gigendo comes*. Fortuna becomes one of many such gods that acted as *comes* of the emperor; Lucan calls the Fortuna of Julius Caesar *Fortuna comes* (5.510) when he attempts his famous sea crossing.[852] The intimate associations of such patron gods with emperors were preceded by those of Republican generals, especially Sulla (Victoriae Sullae) and Julius Caesar (Clementia Caesaris, etc.). Nock has discussed the close connection between *comes* and *conservator*;[853] hence, the imperial creation of Fortuna *conservatrix*.[854]

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[850] Tyche and agathos daimon were often invoked for personal veneration (Soph. Ichn. 73, Eur., I.A. 1136, Plato, Leg. 877a). In the 340s BCE, Timoleon dedicated a house given to him by the Syracusans to Agathe Daimon (Plutarch *Moralia* 542E). Tyche on inscriptions: Pollitt (1986) 1-4. Fortuna on inscriptions: Champeaux (1982), (1987), Kajanto (1981) passim.
[851] Nock in Stewart (1972) 659-675.
[852] Ibid., 653-675.
[853] Ibid., 657-659, Kajanto (1981) 510, Fortuna conservatrix: *CIL* III.1938 (Salonae); 4289 (Pann. sup.); 4558 (Vindobona); 10400 (Pann. inf.); 14359, 26 (Vindobona). RIB 575, 968, 1449. 13.7733 (Germ. sup.); 7741 (ibid.). AE 1949.199 (Dalmatia); 1954.273 (Rome).
[854] Kajanto (1981) 510.

Through her many epithets (90),[855] Fortuna was appealed to by individuals and groups of all stations in life before and after the onset of the principate. The Fortuna cult in Praeneste and the Fortuna "S. Omobono" cult in the Forum Boarium and Fors Fortuna along the Tiber in Rome were especially popular with merchants (regarding transportation, shipping), and slaves (Chapter 2). As we have seen, Fortuna became especially important in the grain shipment and the annona, e.g., Ostia's related Republican temples of Fortuna, Venus, Ceres, and Spes, and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei in Rome. Women favored Fortuna in the same Praeneste cult, the Fortunae at Antium, Fortuna *Muliebris* (women of the senatorial class) and *Virilis* (all women).[856] Even the negative side of Fortuna was propitiated: *Mala* Fortuna, Fortuna *Brevis* (Plu., *q. Rom*. 281D), Fortuna *Dubia* (*CIL* 6.195, 3.51.a. 136). By the imperial age, many Fortuna cults were dedicated to families, e.g., *Crassiana* (*CIL* 6.186), *Tulliana* (*CIL* 6.8706), and *Iuveniana Lampadiana* (*CIL* 6.189).[857] However, from an early age, Fortuna satisfied the personal needs of Italians, in anticipation of the arrival of the soteriological-based cults from the Greek East in Italy.[858]

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[855] Ibid., 509ff., Chapter 2, 58ff.
[856] Fortuna in Praeneste, Antium: Champeaux (1982) 3-148, 149-182. Fortuna Muliebris: Champeaux (1982) 335-374. Fortuna Virilis: *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Virilis," III.280, Richardson (1992) 158.
[857] Kajanto (1981) 513-514.
[858] Coralini (1996) 225, fn. 18.

In the domestic space, Fortuna was present as early as the sixth century BCE, according to literary sources,[859] residing in the home of the Etruscan king Tarquinius Priscus in order to make Servius Tullius the new king.[860] This was the quintessential example of private Fortuna, and, along with the Hellenistic monarch's close association with Tyche, constituted the chief elements later imitated in the Roman residences of Lucullus, Pompey, and Julius Caesar. Caesar, following Sulla, also pushed his personal association with Fortuna, to the extent that she became known as his *comes* (e.g., Lucan on Caesar's famous sea crossing considers Fortuna Caesar's *comes*: 5.510). Fortuna later appeared in a private cult of the home of Sejanus, who attempted to overthrow Tiberius and become emperor (Dio 58.7). This shrine was later reconstructed by Nero in alabaster stone and incorporated into his Domus Aurea (Pliny, *N.H.* 36.163). Though reigning briefly, Galba also propitiated Fortuna in a personal cult in his home (Suet., *Gal*. 4, 17). The dual cults of Fortuna in Antium also enjoyed prominence during the reigns of Gaius and Nero, since the city was the birthplace of both emperors.[861]

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[859] Chapter 3, fn. 475.

[860] According to legend, Servius Tullius consorted with Fortuna through the Via Fenestella at the house of Tarquinius Priscus on the Summa Sacra Via, *ad Portam Mugoniam supra summam Novam Viam* (Solinus 1.24), *ad Iovis Statoris* (Livy 1.41.4): Ovid, *Fasti* 6.578, Plut., *q. Rom.* 36, *de fort. Rom.* 10. Coarelli (1988) 303ff., in an examination of the ancient sources, rejects the traditional location of the house on the Via Nova and, instead, locates it (and the Porta Fenestella) in the Temple of Fortuna at the S. Omobono sanctuary, which he identifies as the site of the imperial Temple of Fortuna Redux. See the discussion below.

[861] Suet., *Calig*., 8, *Nero* 6.

In the second century CE, the private cult phenomenon of Fortuna seems to have led to the placement of a statue of Fortuna "regia" in the bedroom of the emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus (*SHA Ant*. 12.5, *Marc*. 7.3, *Sev*. 23.5-6), each time in reference to their designated heirs. This aspect of Fortuna, therefore, appears to be a continuation of the regal relationship between Servius and Fortuna as well as the Fortuna of the Roman dynasts and Tyche of the Hellenistic monarchs. Emperors' growing personal placation of imperial Fortuna was matched by their public veneration of Fortuna, in the form of public cults and coinage, representing Fortuna as kingmaker and the guarantor of dynastic succession (see below, 324).

Lares and the household cult[862]

"Household worship for the ancient Roman was primarily a quest for the special protection of particular deities or numina."[863] The lararium, in each home contained depictions of a variety of gods, in either statuary or painted form. The *Lares*, who are not just household gods, but ancient, obscure gods (spirits of the dead, according to one theory), frequently appear in the lararium, by the entrance

[862] Wissowa (1912) 166-174, Boyce (1937); Orr (1978); Peterson (1919) 207-9, 246-254, 261-271, 343, Gradel (1992), Tran Tam Tinh (1992) 205-212, Fröhlich (1991), Bakker (1994) [review Palmer (1996) 381-385], Tybout (1996) 358-374.
[863] Orr (1978) 1558.

of a Roman house.[864] The *Lares* are depicted, either as bronze statuary or painted fresco as a pair of male figures, usually in a "dancing" position, holding rhytons and wearing tunics.[865]

The *Penates*[866] are the household gods associated with the hearth and Vesta; both received public cults in the Roman Forum.[867] Many other deities appeared with the Lares in the domestic lararium, most noteworthy the genius of the head of the household (paterfamilias).[868] Often, this is depicted in the form of a snake, associated with the *Agathos Daimon, genius*, and Fortuna.[869] The three most popular deities in the lararia of Pompeii include Fortuna, Vesta, and Bacchus.[870]

Many times the Fortuna statuettes appear with the iconographical features of Isis. In both cases, the frequency of these goddesses in the lararia signifies the needed soteriological qualities they provided to their worshippers in Campania, especially Pompeii and Herculaneum.[871] The popularity of these two deities is echoed in imperial texts of Pliny *N.H.* 2.22 and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (e.g., 11.15.3). In Ostia, where the emphasis on shipping, and especially grain, is

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[864] Festus p. 108 L; Arnobius, Against the Gentiles 3.41 [=Varro fr. 209 (Cardauns)].
[865] Orr (1978) 1568-1569.
[866] Ibid., 1562-1563.
[867] *LTUR* (1999) D. Palombi, "Penates," IV.75-78, *LTUR* (1999) R. T. Scott, "Vesta, aedes," V.125-128, Richardson (1992) 289, 412-413.
[868] Orr (1978) 1569-1575.
[869] Ibid. For another interpretation of the snake: Tybout (1996) 361-362.
[870] Ibid., 1580. Fortuna is frequently depicted in Pompeian wall painting "domestic shrines," e.g., Fröhlich (1991) 51-52.
[871] Orr (1978) 1586.

predominant, private and public shrines to Fortuna are prevalent. The most striking is the previously-mentioned private shrine (in a bakery, rather than a house), the so-called Sacello di Silvano, which displays the statuette of a lar with a background fresco of Fortuna, Annona, Isis, Harpocrates, Alexander, and Caracalla.[872] Another illustrative, late (third century CE) depiction of private worship of Fortuna is the so-called Lararium of Isis-Fortuna at San Martino.[873]

The Lares also enjoyed many public temples in Rome: Lares Viales (*CIL* 2.4320, 2.2417) Lares Permarini, Lares Militaris, and Lares Praestites.[874] Their respective roles, as guardians of travel, especially maritime, war, and the Roman state, are very closely related to many cults of Fortuna in Rome, particularly Fortuna Redux.[875]

The public reorganization of the *compita* (crossroad shrines) in 7 BCE, anticipated by the public and private prominence of the genius Augusti (30 BCE: Dio 51.19.7), included the depiction of the genius Augusti with the two *Lares*.[876] As we will examine further below, the pediment of the Temple of Fortuna Redux

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[872] Bakker (1994) 134-167, 251-254, 262-270 (Sacello di Silvano) and passim (Fortuna and compita).
[873] *LTUR* (1996), J. Calzini Gysens, "Isis-Fortuna, Lararium (Via G. Lanza; Reg. V)," III.115; compare this group with that of Herculaneum: Orr (1978) 1585.
[874] *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Lares, aedes," III.174, F. Coarelli, "Lares permarini, aedes," III.174-175, F. Coarelli, "Lares praestites," III.175-176; Richardson (1992) 232-233, Orr (1978) 1566-1567.
[875] Loreti (1996) 243-254.
[876] Ovid, *Fasti* 5.129, 147-149; Suet., *Aug*. 31.4. Compita: Wissowa (1912) 167-173, Liebeschuetz (1979) 69-71, Fraschetti (1990) 204-273, Bakker (1994) passim, Palmer (1996) 381-385, Tybout (1996) 358-374.

depicted the goddess flanked by the same two *Lares*,[877] underlining the strong tie that existed between Fortuna and the *Lares*, as well as Fortuna and genius Augusti.

Tutela

Tutela appears very similar to the *Lares*, occurring in private, domestic shrines: *Ipsa Roma… in singulis insulis domibusque Tutelae simulacrum ceris venerans ac lucernis, quam ad tuitionem aedium isto appellant nomine, ut tam intrantes quam exeuntes domos suas inoliti semper commoneantur erroris*. (Hier., *In. Is*. 57.7 p. 551C/ p. 672C; Wissowa *ML* V (1916-1924) 1304).

Tute*l*a may have been worshipped and associated with Fortuna in Rome as early as the archaic period.[878] This deity acted both as a protector of individuals in private life and of cities and locales. *Tutela* was associated with many gods, especially Fortuna.[879] For example, the city Antium is described as *civitas [Antiatina] Fortunae ipsius tutela dicta est* (Ps.-Acro on Horace, *Ode* I.35).

Inscriptions, such as *CIL* 6.177-179, record dedications to the deities Fortuna and *Tutela*, or to the single goddess *Fortuna Tutela* (*CIL* 6.178). A relief from the imperial age contains an inscription (*CIL* 6.31059) "Tutele/ Sancte/

[877] Coarelli (1988) 381 fig. 91, Loreti (1996) 243-254. See below for further analysis.
[878] Coarelli (1988) 290-293, and *contra*, Palmer (1990) 243, fn. 41.
[879] Wissowa (1912) 179, Coarelli (1988) 291-293.

Aurelius Urbanus/ ex voto" next to an image of Fortuna.[880] In fact, *Tutela* does not seem to have possessed any discernible iconography, other than the regular features of Fortuna and Tyche (after the second century BCE); the lack of an early-formulated image of *Tutela* probably is due to her initially anonymous role as the protector of the city.[881]

Genius[882]

The *genius*, as opposed to the *numen*,[883] is the *comes*, guiding star,[884] spiritual companion, under whose *tutela* an individual lived (Censorinus, *De die natali* 3.1): *genius est deus cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est vivit*.[885]

A number of related dedications in Rome underline the close tie between *genius* and Fortuna in Augustan Rome. As previously mentioned, the genius of the head of the household (paterfamilias) was commonly depicted in the lararium

[880] Coarelli (1988) 292, fn. 69, fig. 58.
[881] *Sive deo sive deae, in cuius tutela hic lucus locusve est* (*act. Arv*. p. 146 Henzen*), Genio urbis Romae sive mas sive femina* (Serv. *Aen* 2.351), *and Sive deus sive dea, in cuius tutela haec urbs est* (S. 37f) in Wissowa (1912) 179 refer to the anonymous quality of the protective deity of Rome, commonly interpreted as Tutela, genius, and Pales. The iconography of Tutela and Pales (and sometimes genius, usually with cornucopia, occasionally with mural crown) reflect that of Hellenized Fortuna. For Pales or Fortuna of Rome figure, see Arya (2000) on the wall building scene from the Basilica Paulli frieze, dated broadly between the Sullan and Augustan periods. In Ode 4.14.43-44 Horace describes Augustus as the *tutela praesens Italiae dominaeque Romae*.
[882] Wissowa (1912) 175-181, Kunckel (1974), Fishwick (1987) 375-387 with bibliography, Frölich (1991), Beard et al (1998) I.185-186.
[883] Fishwick (1987) 375-387.
[884] Horace, *Ep*. 2.2.187: *scit genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum*.
[885] Fishwick (1987) 382.

of Roman homes.[886] By 30 BCE, public and private libations were offered to the genius Augusti. Honoring Augustus' genius in libations was preceded by the Greek practice of swearing to Hellenistic monarch's tyche. Julius Caesar may have instituted such a practice shortly before his death (Dio 44.6.1; 50.1).[887] The consecration of the Fortuna Redux altar took place in 19 BCE. With the reorganization of the *compita*, a standardized image of the genius Augusti was added by two Lares in each crossroad shrine in Rome (7 BCE). Only from 7 CE was the Numen Augusti worshipped. This chronological survey of accumulated honors reflecting the individual qualities of Augustus on three levels– his genius, Fortuna, and numen– eventually led to the establishment of his own divinization, after his death.

As previously discussed, a third-century CE representation of the pediment of the Temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome depicted Fortuna flanked by two *Lares*. In this arrangement, Fortuna stands in the place of the most common image of the Lares, i.e., those in the *compita* shrines, housing the Genius Augusti flanked by the Lares. Viewers of the pediment would have instantly recognized the substitution of Fortuna for the *genius*. The link was also embedded in Roman society after the Augustan reorganization of the *compita* (Dio 55.8). The keepers of the *compita* were ex-slaves (four *vicomagistri*) and slaves (four *vicoministri).* Individuals from these social classes were particularly interested in the genius as

[886] Orr (1978) 1569-1575.

well as goddess who could turn around their station in life.[888] Indeed, Fortuna also appears in some of the compital shrines.[889]

In the domestic lararia, the *genius* is often depicted with Fortuna's rudder.[890] Indeed, *genius*, like Fortuna, can be of a person, place, or group.[891] It does not mean, however, that genius equaled Fortuna, still two distinct entities.[892] Genius and Fortuna were often depicted together. One of the best examples is the felt maker Verecundus' shop on Via dell'Abbondanza (IX 7.5-7), depicting Venus Pompeiana in the center, flanked by Fortuna, holding a rudder and cornucopia, balanced on a globe (left) and genius Augusti, with head covered (*capite velato*), in a toga, holding a cornucopia (right) (Ilustration 2.12).

Fortuna and genius are often paired together (e.g., *CIL* 10.1568: the genius of Puteoli and Fortuna, *CIL* 3.4289: Pannonia sup., *CIL* 3.4558: Syria, *CIL* 3.1008: Dacia, *CIL* 13.7610, 8001, 6747: Germania sup., *CIL* 7.370, *CIL* 6.30.718). In the imperial period the two often appear in harbor settings, as Tuck

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[887] Weinstock (1971) 205-217.

[888] The *vicomagistri* and *vicominstri* were put in charge of the compital shrines [in the Flavian age, numbering 265, one for each vicus (sub-district of a region): Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.66] in Rome as of the Augustan reform in 7 BCE. Wissowa (1912) 167-173, Bömer (1981) passim, Bakker (1994) 118-133.

[889] *CIL* 6.761, Richardson (1992) 157-158, *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Stata," II.278, *LTUR* (1995) L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Seiani, aedes," II.278 (who questions if the inscription reads *Seiae* or *Statae*).

[890] Orr (1978) 1579.

[891] Orr (1978) 1575: *CIL* 10.772 (individual), 8.2597 (household), 7.103 (legion), 7.440 (cohort), 14.10 (guild).

[892] For a contrary interpretation: Kajanto (1981) 516 states that Fortuna was essentially a genius.

recently has demonstrated.[893] An inscription of a statue base from the Augustales' sanctuary, which includes in a statuary group of Titus and Vespasian the representation of Fortuna or Abundantia, indicates that two statues were dedicated to "Simulacris Geni Municipi et Classi Tutelae." The statue base also includes two small, carved reliefs, depicting the typical representation of a genius and a Fortuna figure, with mural crown and rudder, representing the Tutela (or Fortuna) of the fleet.[894] Another example of the relationship among Fortuna, genius, and the cult of the emperor is attested in the port city of Caesarea Maritima. A bronze cup (mid-fourth century CE) in the Louvre depicts the foundation of the city with Tyche, wearing mural crown and Amazonian dress (whose presence is necessary at any city founding: Plut., *De fort Rom*. 320A/321B), holding an emperor bust and next to the inscription "GE/NI/O CO/LO/NI/A(E)," followed by the Temple of Augustus and cult statue of the temple.[895]

[893] Tuck (1997) 20-66, 77-83 discusses the Fortuna-genius pair in harbor settings in Portus, Caesarea Maritima, Porto Raphti; see, also, Stevernagel (1999) 149-187.
[894] I thank S. L. Tuck for directing my attention to this piece in the courtyard of the Misenum Museum.
[895] Will (1983) 1-24, Gersht (1984) 110-114, Tuck (1997) 49-54 with bibliography.

FORTUNA IN THE MARS ULTOR PEDIMENT

A historical relief, previously considered part of the decoration of the Ara Pietatis and, more recently, the Ara Gentis Iuliae on the Capitoline, preserves the façade of a Roman temple. Scholars usually have identified this temple with that of Mars Ultor, in the Forum Augustum (vowed in 42 BCE by Augustus and dedicated in 2 BCE).[896] The figures on the pediment of the relief are, from left to right, the Palatine, Romulus, Venus, Mars, Fortuna, Roma, and the Tiber. The figures individually and collectively symbolize key aspects of religious and political significance in Augustan Rome.

The Forum Augustum represented, on a monumental, public scale, the household of Augustus because the forum housed statues of his direct ancestors, through Venus, as well as statues of prominent Romans throughout the history of the Republic. Just as Augustus overshadowed his predecessors and usurped the *summi viri* of Rome for personal use to symbolically represent his own household,[897] he also systematized gods and goddesses, particularly "blessings" such as Fortuna, into his own personal pantheon. The presence of Fortuna on the pediment of the Temple of the Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum emphasizes her role in Augustan symbology and "ideology."

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[896] *LTUR* (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pietas Augusta, Ara," IV.87-89, *LTUR* (1995) E. La Rocca, "Gens Iulia, ara," II.369-370, with bibliography, Hommel (1954) 22-32, G. Koeppel (1983) 98-101, 123 no. 12. Simon (1986) 48-51, Zanker (1988a) 193-227, Kleiner (1992) 99-103, *LTUR* (1995) V. Kockel, "Forum Augustum," II.289-295.

Fortuna and Mars

Fortuna's position next to Mars in the pediment was preceded by Julius Caesar's placement of a statue of the Tyche of Rome in the Temple of Ares in Antioch, as a monument to his victory in the East.[898] As we have seen in Chapter 3, Mars and Fortuna were the objects of new cults fostered by Julius Caesar, and completed by Augustus: the cults of Mars Ultor and Fortuna Redux (see below). Closer to home, the placement of Fortuna next to Mars reflects the Republican association of Mars and Fortuna, which can be seen in their placement next to each other on the terracotta pediment from the temple of Fortuna Respiciens (discussed in Chapter 3, 159ff.).

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Fortuna and Venus

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[897] Zanker (1988a) 210-215, Galinsky (1996) 197-213. Such images later were carried in Augustus’ funeral procession: Dio 56.34.2-3.
[898] Malalas 9.216.

The pairing of Fortuna and Venus in the pediment reflects the archaic pairing of Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis[899] and the late Republican juxtaposition of the two deities in the politics of Sulla, Pompey, and Julius Caesar (Chapter 3). In no way does Fortuna yield before the popularity of Venus in Augustan culture. Indeed, the popularity of Fortuna in Rome is greatest in the imperial period. Under Augustus, Fortuna and Pax (best represented by the iconography of Venus on the Ara Pacis "Tellus" panel)[900] become symbols of fertility and abundance, as part of the Augustan rhetoric that ushered in the new "golden age," in part through the creation of the related altars of Fortuna Redux and Pax Augusta.[901] Fortuna was an appropriate deity for such imagery, given her background in child-bearing and agriculture and the cosmic implications of her cults in Rome.[902] With the formulation of Fortuna Redux, the goddess becomes the official guarantor of dynastic succession, forming a significant pair on the Mars Ultor pediment with Venus Genetrix, the ancestress of the *gens Iulia* and the Romans.

Fortuna and Roma

899 Torelli (1984), Magini (1996) on the cosmological features of the two cults.
900 Galinsky (1996) 141-155, esp. 148-155.
901 See the discussion of the altars of Fortuna Redux and Pax Augusta below.
902 Champeaux (1982), (1987).

The imagery of Fortuna and Rome overlap, mostly through the Greeks' association of Roma with the city Tyche.[903] Indeed, Roma in the East often is represented with the iconographical features of Tyche and Fortuna in the imperial cult settings of Augustus and Roma.[904] In the West, Fortuna with the mural crown becomes more of an imperial phenomenon, appearing frequently on the Trajanic Arch of Beneventum.[905]

In Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, Roma actually appears as a city Tyche, complete with mural crown attribute. The so-called Patria episode (1.183-226) has received a lot of attention because it is the only episode in which a divinity speaks.[906] This is the goddess Roma.[907] Although there is little doubt as to the identity of the goddess, little attention has been paid to her iconographic features, particularly her mural crown (*turrigero vertice*, 1.188). The city Tyche with mural crown in the East is found on the city personification of Lavinium in the painted frieze of the Statilii tomb (Caesarian/ early Augustan) and the city personifications on the Julio-Claudian Arcus Novus reliefs.[908]

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[903] Mellor (1981) 956-957.

[904] E.g., Tuck (1997) 51 fn. 100: in the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Pergamon, the statue of Roma has the attributes of Fortuna (or Tyche).

[905] The mural-crowned figures on the reliefs have been variously identified as Roma, Virtus, and Roma. Simon (1979-80), Rausa (1997) 140 often identify her as Fortuna in the attic relief with Hadrian and Trajan. See Torelli (1997) for a new interpretation, with recent bibliography.

[906] Morford (1967) 77-79. Feeney (1991) 270-274, 292-295.

[907] Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.2.5 identifies *patria* with Roma. Also, Lucan's description of Roma, "solveret crines suos" (l.188) echoes Propertius 3.15.45-46, who describes Roma with the same phrase. *Contra*, see Mellor (1981) 973, who argues that authors in the Republican period did not usually equate Roma with *patria*.

[908] Cappelli (2000) 216-217 with bibliography. *LTUR* (1993) M. Torelli, "Arcus Novus," I.101-102, Kuttner (1995) 28, 225-226.

Lucan's choice of the mural crown for Roma defines the deity Roma with the identity of the Fortuna of the city, a more common attribute in the Greek East. This is a deliberate move on the part of the author, and its significance is worth considering. By concluding the Patria scene and his recitation of his ancestral gods with, "Te, Fortuna, sequor" (l.226), Lucan's Caesar rejects not just his familial gods, but also the Fortuna of Rome. Instead, he places himself in the hands Fortuna, more particularly, his own personal Fortuna. As Feeney and Grimal have noted, the list of gods are all Trojan, relating to Caesar's ancestry or to Augustus.[909] Along those same lines, Caesar's call to Fortuna would acknowledge both Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, the personal Fortunae of the emperor in the imperial period, venerated also by Nero, Lucan's contemporary.

The mural crown image in the Patria scene finds echoes throughout the rest of the poem, as wall imagery is a constant theme in Lucan's descriptions. For example, Scaeva single-handedly again defends Caesar's troops from the threat of defeat by using his body as a momentarily undefeatable entity, thereby preserving Caesar's good luck (6.141). Lucan also presents Scaeva as a wall, defending Caesar as Fortuna does: *stat non fragilis pro Caesare murus* (6.201).[910] Fortuna herself even acts as a wall, protecting Caesar from harm in Alexandria: *murique vicem Fortuna tuetur* (10.485).

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[909] Feeney (1991) 292-294.

Fortuna, the Tiber, the Palatine, and Romulus

The cults of Fortuna in Rome, such as the Fortuna "S. Omobono" and Fors Fortuna, were frequently associated with the Tiber (through their location) and prominent role in the emporium (through transportation and shipping) in the Forum Boarium

Plutarch, in *On the Fortune of the Romans*, explains that Fortuna is necessary in the founding of any city (321B), especially regarding Romulus and Rome (320A–324A). The association between Pales, the goddess of the Palatine hill, on whose festival day, April 21, the birthday of Rome was celebrated, and Fortuna was established in Rome's early history.[911] The iconography of Pales was rare. When she is identifiable, e.g. on a panel from the Basilica Paulli frieze, or the pediment of the Augustan Quirinus Temple, she appears in scenes depicting the foundation of Rome, appropriately, much like Fortuna (in the former wearing a polos and standing before a wall building scene, in the latter, seated and veiled, holding a cornucopia).[912]

The Quirinus pediment depicts Romulus in the process of taking the augury that will determine the foundation of Rome [Ennius (fr. 155 Skutsch)], and, therefore, Fortuna's presence is crucial. Romulus appears, seated, holding a

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[910] Marti (1966) 247-257; Saylor (1978) 243-257.
[911] Champeaux (1982) 226-229.
[912] Basilica Paulli frieze: Arya (2000) 315, fig. 6 with bibliography, Albertson (1990), Lichocka (1997) 391. Quirinus Temple pediment: Paris (1988) 27-38.

lituus, in the Mars Ultor panel as well, about to take the augury. Fortuna's role in the foundation of the city is extended to her role as the guarantor of the emperors and their victories. She appeared most prominently before the battle of Actium, with the quintessential Augustan goddess, Victoria, in the form of Eutychus and Nikon (Chapter 4, 218ff.). Fortuna became a constant companion of the emperors in their endeavors, particularly in the sphere of their personal lives and dynastic succession.

THE ALTAR OF FORTUNA REDUX

Throughout the history of Rome, altars could be either independent dedications, or they were associated with temples.[913] The Altar of Fortuna Redux was the first of a series of important altars dedicated in the Augustan period, immediately followed by the consecration of the Ara Pacis, Ara Ceres Mater et Ops Augusta (7 CE), the Ara Providentiae (Augustan), and Ara Gens Iuliae (Claudian). All of these subsequent imperial altars represented, like the first in the series, the Altar of Fortuna Redux, the crucial concepts of dynasty, succession, *reditus*, and stability in imperial Rome.[914]

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[913] Richardson (1992) 19-20.
[914] *LTUR* (1993) D. Palombi, "Ceres Mater et Ops Augusta, arae," 261-262. *LTUR* (1999) M. Torelli, "Providentia, ara," IV.165-166. *LTUR* (1995) E. La Rocca, "Gens Iulia, ara," II.369-370. LTUR (1999) E. La Rocca, "Pietas Augusta, ara," IV.87-89. Richardson (1992)81, 322, 181, 291.

The Altar of Fortuna Redux was one of the more noteworthy dedications to Augustus on behalf of the Senate, on the occasion of the important return of Augustus to Rome. The "modest"[915] scale and religious nature of this monument coincides with the beginning of the outpouring of monuments made on behalf of the emperor's person and well-being, in effect, creating a direct path towards the realization of the imperial cult in Rome. Knowing the exact location and contexts of the altar allows the exploration of its affiliations with surrounding structures (and their past significance).

The reasons for the inception of the altar and its location

Augustus himself, in his *Res Gestae* (inscribed on bronze tablets outside his Mausoleum in the northern Campus Marius),[916] provides the most direct evidence for the Altar of Fortuna Redux, which was a new and original cult of Fortuna in Rome, and for its significance.

[915] E.g., Richardson (1992) 137. For further discussion of the appearance of the altar, see below.

> [Aram Fortunam Reducis ante ae]des Honoris et Virtutis ad portam [Capenam pro reditu meo se]natus consacravit, in qua ponti[fices et virgines Vestales anni]versarium sacrifium facere [iussit eo die quo, consulibus Q. Luc]retio et [M. Vinicio], in urbem ex [Syria redieram, et diem Augustali]a ex [c]o[gnomine nost]ro appellavit (*RG* 11).[917]

Augustus clearly states the name of the altar (Fortuna Redux), its location (in front of the Temples of Honos and Virtus), who dedicated it (the Senate), when (October 12, 19 BCE, now renamed Augustalia, after Augustus), how the cult was to be honored (the pontifices and Vestal Virgins were to make an annual sacrifice), and the occasion of the dedication (Augustus' *reditus* or return from Syria). Other factors, however, gave the altar added meaning, as I will discuss in the subsequent sections.

For the construction of the Ara Pacis, Augustus describes a situation that recalls the occasion for the decree of the Fortuna Redux altar, Augustus' *reditus* to Rome, this time from the West, after his absence from Rome between 16-13 BCE (*RG* 12.2).[918]

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916 Brunt and Moore (1991) with bibliography.

917 "The senate consecrated the altar of Fortuna Redux before the temples of Honor and Virtue at the Porta Capena in honor of my return, and it ordered that the *pontifices* and Vestal Virgins should make an annual sacrifice there on the anniversary of my return to the city from Syria, in the consulship of Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinicius, and it named the day of the Augustalia from my *cognomen*." Translation: Brunt and Moore (1991) 23.

918 *Cum ex Hispania Galliaque, rebus in iis provincis prospere gestis, Romam redi, Ti. Nerone P. Quintilio consulibus, aram Pacis Augustae senatus pro reditu meo consacrandam censuit ad campum Martium, in qua magistratus et sacerdotes virginesque Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit.* "On my return from Spain and Gaul in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius after successfully arranging affairs in those provinces, the senate resolved that an altar of the Augustan Peace should be consecrated next to the Campus Martius in honor of

Noting the consecutive accounts of the altars in the *Res Gestae* (11-12), clearly the related structures were intended to honor the emperor, instead of a triumph, for his efforts abroad. The two new cults are similar in that they were both decreed by the Senate upon Augustus' return to Rome, both in the form of an altar, and both honored by an annual sacrifice on the anniversary of his returns, each time involving the Vestal Virgins. Torelli has long asserted that the two monuments even created an axis in the city, each altar located one mile from the pomerium, but recently this theory has been refuted; the Ara Pacis is located well under a mile from the pomerium.[919]

Meeting a returning official (an *adventus* or *reditus*) would include what has been described as the "private and informal custom" of "ire viam" or *apantesis* (in Greek), meeting a person of high rank outside the traditional boundaries of the city.[920] Torelli asserts that the two altars mark such boundaries, located on two extremities, outside the confines of the city. However, on each occasion of his return, Augustus slipped into the city at night (Altar of Fortuna Redux: Dio 54.10, Ara Pacis: Dio 54.25), preferring to avoid the Senate and other officials and the usual crowds that gathered to greet him. As a consequence, Augustus did not actually uphold the tradition of "ire viam," which Torelli has asserted the altars commemorate.

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my return, and ordered that the magistrates and priests and Vestal Virgins should perform an annual sacrifice there." Translation: Brunt and Moore (1991) 25.

[919] Torelli (1982) 29, (1996) 943-944. *Contra*, Haselberger (2000) 525-526.

[920] Torelli (1996) 943-944.

Historical background: grain shortage and the cura annonae

The ostensive reason for the dedication of the altar of Fortuna Redux, celebrating Augustus' return from the East, was not the only motivation for creating a new cult to Fortuna in Rome.

In 22 BCE, Augustus assumed the cura annonae, to stem a food shortage and assure the grain distribution (*RG* 5), before departing for the East. The last crisis had taken place in 57 BCE, under Pompey, and we have examined already the importance of Fortuna in the annona in the city (Chapter 3). On this occasion, Augustus spent his own money and refused perpetual consulship offered to him in thanks (*RG* 5).

During the period 22-19, when Augustus was in the East, the city was filled with political unrest.[921] Upon his return to Rome, the Senate consecrated (*consecravit*) the Altar of Fortuna Redux.[922] He brought back with him from the East the Parthian standards and deposited them in the Temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline (*RG* 29.2), an act not unrelated to the creation of the Altar of Fortuna, as I will argue below.

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[921] The sole consul C. Sentius Saturninus refused the consul-candidature of Egnatius Rufus. Riots ensued, and Augustus was called back (Dio 54.10).

[922] The Latin implies more than the Senate's act of decreeing (*censuit*) the construction of the Ara Pacis.

That the project of the Altar of Fortuna Redux was long in the planning stages is supported by other evidence. Although he refused honors for assuming the cura annonae in 22 BCE, the creation of a new cult of Fortuna in 19 BCE also reflected Fortuna's role in the grain supply, as we have seen in the cult of Fortuna Huiusce Diei and the Porticus Minuciae. The safety of the city depended on ensuring the lifeline of grain importation, no easy task. The cult of the Fortunae of Antium also figured prominently in the cult of Fortuna Redux. The consecration of the Ara Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta on the Vicus Iugarius, in the nearby vicinity of the Temple of Fortuna Redux (whose location will be discussed below), further underlines the grain association with Fortuna Redux.[923] The moneyer Rustius had family ties with the cult in Antium, but Antium's port was also the point of Augustus' departure from and return to Italy. Antium itself, one of Rome's main harbors, had its own historical link to the city's grain supply (Appian *B.C.* I.69.311). Octavian borrowed from a temple in the city in 41 BCE, probably raiding the Temple of Fortuna in the city's harbor (Appian *B.C.* 5.24.97). Horace's ode I.35, written well in advance of the creation of the cult of Fortuna Redux, includes a hymn and prayer for the safety of Augustus, during his departure from and return to Italy through the port of Antium.

[923] Fn. 914.

The altar in relationship to nearby structures

By mentioning the altar's location relative to preexisting structures at the Porta Capena,[924] one of the "Servian" wall gates, Augustus creates another quasi-list of "blessings," Honos, Virtus, and Fortuna, a common feature in late Republican Roman rhetoric and cult, as discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Indeed, recently, Pompey had included shrines to Honos and Virtus in his Theater complex in the Campus Martius.[925] By placing the altar in front of the historic pair of temples outside the Porta Capena, Augustus revered the older constructions on the site (a typical Augustan trait),[926] emulated Pompey's ensemble of shrines, and outshone them through the creation of a new cult, Fortuna Redux.

Not incidentally, Vespasian, who took a particular interest in the cult of Fortuna Redux, rebuilt the Temples of Virtus and Honos, possibly damaged or destroyed after the Neronian fire, entrusting its decoration to the greatest artists of the day (Pliny *N.H.* 35.120).[927] It may be fair to hypothesize that Vespasian also rebuilt the Altar of Fortuna Redux, since it was located in the precinct of the two damaged temples.

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[924] The Porta Capena was located approximately at the modern Piazza di Porta Capena, just southeast of the excavated southern end of the Circus Maximus, at the intersection of Viale Aventino, Via dei Cerchi, Viale di Terme di Caracalla, and Via di San Gregorio.
[925] Chapter 3, 198ff.
[926] *LTUR* (1996) D. Palombi, "Honos and Virtus, aedes." III.31-33, Richardson (1992) 190. For Augustus' refusal to add his name to restored buildings: *RG* 19.1, 20.1.
[927] *LTUR* (1996) D. Palombi "Honos and Virtus, aedes." III.31-33 with bibliography.

Three religious structures, outside the Porta Capena, were tied thematically to the new cult of Fortuna Redux: the Temple of Tempestates, Temple of Mars, and shrine of Rediculus. The Temple of Tempestates was vowed by L. Cornelius Scipio when caught in a storm off Corsica in 259 BCE.[928] This incident and the temple recall both Julius Caesar's own nearly-fatal mishap (he was saved by his personal Fortuna) and Augustus' own travel by sea, protected by Fortuna in the form of the cult of Fortunae in Antium (as cited by Horace, in *Ode* 1.35). The Temple of Tempestates was located near the Temple of Mars.[929] In another area outside the Porta Capena was the sanctuary of the god *Rediculus*, which Latte has suggested as a predecessor of the cult of Fortuna Redux as a protector of homecomers.[930] Before its sanctuary, two miles from the Porta Capena, this protective deity was responsible for turning away Hannibal from his attack on Rome (Fest. 354 f. L.).

Just inside the Porta Capena was the small shrine of Fortuna Obsequens, related in name and cult to the Temple of Venus Obsequens (at the nearby Circus Maximus).[931] Immediately outside of the gate were the *fons* (spring) and *lucus* (grove) attributed to the Camenae.[932] These water goddesses had long been

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[928] *LTUR* (1999) A. Ziolkowski, "Tempestates, aedes," V.26-27, Richardson (1992) 375.
[929] Richardson (1992) 244-245.
[930] Fest. 384L, Pliny, *N.H*. 10.122, Latte (1960) 53-54, Radke (1965) 271, Coarelli (1988) 275, Kajanto (1988) 38.
[931] *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Obsequens," II.273. *LTUR* (1999) E. Papi, "Venus Obsequens, aedes ad Circum Maximum," V.118. Richardson (1992) 156, 409.
[932] *LTUR* (1993) E. Rodríguez Almeida, "Camenae, Camenarum fons et lucus" I.216. Richardson (1992) 63-64.

identified with the Muses and associated with the nymph Egeria, whom Roman legend described as a special *comes* of Numa, akin to the relationship between Fortuna and Servius. Numa decreed that the Vestal Virgins could draw water from the natural spring daily for their tasks associated with the Temple of Vesta (Plu., *Numa* 13.2, Festus 152L), through the Vicus Camenarum, which led from the Forum to the spring.

Therefore, the Vestal Virgins who, with the pontifices, would honor the Altar of Fortuna Redux, were already historically and religiously closely tied with the site outside the Porta Capena, through the fountain of Egeria. The venerable tradition of fetching water from the fountain became more prominent through the addition of the new altar, at a time when Augustus was modifying the cult of Vesta and promoting the role of the Vestal Virgins in Roman religion.[933] As a result, the Vestal Virgins appear prominently on the Ara Pacis and on a relief fragment from the Gens Iulia Altar; we can only assume the same for the decoration program of the Altar of Fortuna Redux (see below).[934]

The construction of the Ara Pacis, instead, became part of the Augustan architectural ensemble (including the Mausoleum of Augustus and horologium), dedicated in the Campus Martius on the Via Flaminia in an area apparently devoid of previous constructions. On the other side the Via Flaminia, the Ara

[933] Beard et al. (1998) I.189-191, 193-194.
[934] La Rocca has attributed the fragment to the Gens Iulia altar: *LTUR* (1995) E. La Rocca, "Gens Iulia, ara," II.369-370.

Providentiae was added in the Tiberian period another dynastic monument that emphasized the apotheosis of the deceased emperors and dynastic succession, also an important factor in the Fortuna Redux cult.[935]

Profectio, adventus, and the Parthian standards

Important activities took place at the Porta Capena, and, for this reason, in his reordering of the city into fourteen regions, Augustus' region I eventually took the official name of the Porta Capena. The Porta Capena marked the beginning of the Via Appia, the queen of Roman roads.[936] Most generals and armies departed from Rome on the Via Appia to Rome's major ports: Antium, Puteoli, and Brundisium.

The *profectio* (departure) and *adventus* (return) of Roman generals and pro-consuls took place in specially designated structures just outside the Porta Capena. These include a *senaculum*[937] (for the senate to meet to returning official) and the *Mutatorium Caesaris*[938] (the imperial name for the Republican building, located across the road from the third century CE Baths of Caracalla),

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[935] *LTUR* (1999) M. Torelli, "Providentia, ara," IV.165-166, Haselberger (2000) 526-527 citing recent bibliography. For further discussion of the ideas of Greek pronoia and role of Fortuna as providentia: Chapter 2, 123ff.
[936] *LTUR* (1999) J. R. Patterson, "Via Appia," V.130-133.
[937] *LTUR* (1999), F. Coarelli, "Senaculum," IV.264-265, Coarelli (1988) 275.
[938] *LTUR* (1996) G. Pisani Sartorio, "Mutatorium Caesaris," III.335, Coarelli (1988) 275, Platner and Ashby (1965) 355-6. For another interpretation of the structure, Richardson (1992) 264.

the structure where the general changed from civil dress (toga) and put on the *paludamentum* (military garb) if leaving (*profectio*), and vice versa, if returning to the city (*adventus*). Apparently, other structures in the area of the *Mutatorium Caesaris*, include the *Area Curruces* and *Area Radicaria*, which served as, respectively, a place to exchange one's horsedrawn carriage for a hand-carried litter and a customs house.[939]

A further examination of the Rediculus cult, associated with homecomings, reveals more associations between the god and Fortuna. The full name of the deity was Tutanus Rediculus, which Wissowa defines as one of the city's many tutelary deities; indeed at the location of the sanctuary of the god, Hannibal suddenly turned away from attacking the city. This legend finds a parallel in the altar of Aius Locutius, who warned M. Caedicius (ignored by the magistrates) of the Gauls' attack of the city; the *altar* was later erected to honor the god. Furthermore, the similarity in the names Tutanus, tutela, and the goddess Tutulina, a protective deity of grain, associated with the cult of Ceres on the Aventine, underlines the affinity of the cult of the new cult of Fortuna Redux with the cult of Tutanus Rediculus through Fortuna's own close tie with Tutela.

Fortuna was associated with the *profectio* even before the construction of the Altar of Fortuna Redux. It is, as we have seen, the subject of Horace's Ode I.35. Horace commends the princeps to Fortuna as he departs on future wars from

[939] *LTUR* (1993), E. Rodríguez Almeida, "Area Carruces," I.118, "Area Radicaria," I.119-120,

the port city of Antium. Commenting on the poem, pseudo-Acro states: *haec ode in Fortunam Antiatem scripta est, cui Caesaris (adversum Britannos)* ***profectionem*** *commendat*.

The *adventus* of the general was often associated with a triumph. Augustus' refusal of the triumph, however, after 20 BCE, and the construction of both altars to commemorate the return from abroad indicate that the monuments were not triumphal monuments as such. Indeed, Augustus refused all honors offered to him, for quelling the civil unrest and other measures he took while abroad, except for the altar (Dio 54.10).

Augustus' return from the East is frequently cited as the reason for the commissioning of the Altar of Fortuna Redux. Fortuna, however, did not bring the emperor alone. Augustus returned with the Parthian standards; he *returned* them to Rome, after their long absence, after Crassus' defeat at Carrhae 53 BCE (*RG* 29.2: *Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa* ***reddere*** *mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi*). The use of the verb "reddere" in this passage intentionally echoes the related monument, the Altar of Fortuna Redux. This loss was compounded by further defeats of Decidius Saxa in Syria in 40 BCE, and Mark Antony in Armenia and Media in 36 BCE (Dio 51.18, 53.33). This was Augustus' main motivation for going to the East.[940] He negotiated the return of the standards in 20 BCE. After he had returned to Rome,

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Richardson (1992) 32-33.

he later celebrated this diplomatic victory, which he styled as a military one, through an impressive coinage series of Parthian captives,[941] placed the standards in the Temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline (*RG* 29.2) rode into the city on horseback (*ovatio*), and was honored with a triumphal arch[942] (Dio 54.8). Ancient sources and modern scholarship divide the two episodes,[943] but since they happened contemporaneously and both involve the return of Augustus and the standards, the juxtaposition of the two deserves further examination.

Indeed, a strong tradition existed among the *imperator* and Fortuna and Parthia before the reign of Augustus. The model for Augustus (as so often the case) was provided by Julius Caesar. Already in 49 BCE, he sacrificed to Fortuna, instead of the traditional recipient, Jupiter,[944] before departing from the city, and was saved by Fortuna during a winter storm in 48 BCE.[945] With the creation of the Fortuna Caesaris came the new coin type of P. Sepullius Macer in 44 BCE. Victory on the obverse and the Fortuna Caesaris on the reverse

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940 *RG* 29.2, 32-33. For the historical background, see Scullard (1991), 247-249.
941 Zanker (1988a) 183-192, Galinsky (1996) 1551-158, figs. 72a, 72b.
942 *LTUR* (1993) E. Nedergaard, "Arcus Augusti (a. 19 a.c.)," I.81-85. Scott (2000) 183-191.
943 E.g., *RG* 11, 29.2, Dio 54.8, 54.10. Few studies, such as Weinstock (1971) 126, Champeaux (1982) 177, *LTUR* (1999) J. R. Patterson, "Via Appia," V.130-133, clearly suggest the close relationship between the foundation of the altar and the restitution of the Roman standards from the Parthians.
944 Dio 41.39.2, Weinstock (1971) 116-121. Replacing Fortuna for Jupiter became a Roman tradition. Following Julius Caesar's example, Nero replaced the image of Jupiter with those of the Fortunae of Antium, regarding the birth of his daughter Augusta: Tac., *ann*. 15.23, Brendel (1960).
945 Florus 2.13.37, Dio 41.46.3, Plut., *Caes*. 38.5, *Fort Rom*. 6.319c-d, *Reg. Et imp. Apopht. Caes*. 9.206d, Appian *BC* 2.57, 2, 150, Zonaras 10.8.

signified, according to Weinstock and North, Caesar's eventual victory over the Parthians,[946] an impending war that was cut short by Caesar's assassination.

Caesar's war, had it been carried out, would have begun when he set out on the Via Appia, through the Porta Capena, towards the port of Brundisium. In setting out for the East, via the Porta Capena, in 22 BCE, Augustus had already formulated the symbolic appearance of war against the Parthians. He returned to Rome in 19 BCE through the same gate (although under cover of darkness, to avoid officials and public fanfare).[947]

Less modest were succeeding emperors who fought against and defeated the Parthians in war. Indeed, Trajan and Lucius Verus were honored with posthumous arches in region I, Porta Capena, according to the Regionary Catalogues.[948] Incidentally, both emperors had improved the route of the Via Appia, the former to Brindisi, the latter to Hydruntum, each time as departure points for their respective Parthian campaigns.[949] Furthermore, while heading East

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[946] Weinstock (1971) 124-125, North (1975) 174, Chapter 3, 202ff.

[947] Dio's account (54.8) that Augustus entered the city on horseback, celebrating an *ovatio*, stipulates that this honor took place *after* he had already returned to the city, i.e., under cover of darkness. Augustus only returned from the East once, in 19 BCE, when he was honored with the Altar of Fortuna Redux. No triumph was necessary since Augustus achieved a diplomatic victory, without the use of an army; however, exiting and returning through the Porta Capena, the gate from which generals traditionally departed for war, was a clear, symbolic statement. This symbolism could have been followed with a real war, if the Parthians had decided against diplomacy. The Prima Porta cuirass depicts, in the center, the return of the Parthian standards, flanked by depictions of the defeated provinces, Spain and Gaul, a harsh warning for Parthia. See Galinsky (1996) 155ff., figs. 73-75. For an account of the styling of the agreement with the Parthians as a military victory: Gruen (1990b) 395-416, (1996).

[948] *LTUR*, D. Palombi, "Arcus Traiani (Divi Traiani Not.)," I.112, D. Palombi, "Arcus Divi Veri," I.112.

[949] *LTUR* (1999) J. R. Patterson, "Via Appia," V.130-133.

to Parthia, Trajan stopped at Antioch, making a poignant dedication to the Tyche of Antioch.[950] Septimius Severus' interest in the Via Appia, and subsequently Caracalla's, led to the construction of, respectively, the Septizodium, just inside the Porta Capena, and the Baths of Caracalla, just outside (across from the *Mutatorium Caesaris*).[951] Both Severan emperors had conducted their own Parthian campaigns. Thus, by placing their own dynastic monuments on the Via Appia, they followed the historical precedents of the Parthian campaigns of Augustus, Trajan, and Lucius Verus. As will be seen, Fortuna figures prominently in the reigns of the Antonines and the Severans.

Fortuna Soteira and the appearance of the altar

Even more than the Fortuna who brings the emperor back and the Parthian standards, Fortuna Redux embodied the persona of the emperor; indeed, the term Fortuna Redux, once translated in the Greek literally as Τυξη Επαναγωγοω ("leading back," Dio 54.10.3), was rendered Τυξη Σωτηριοω (savior) in the Greek translation of Augustus' *Res Gestae* 11.[952] Tyche *Soteira* occurs as early as the hymn of Pindar. Fortuna the Savior protects the quasi-divine princeps, who is

[950] Malalas 11.275-276, Chapter 1, 31ff.
[951] *LTUR* (1999) G. Pisani Sartorio, "Septizonium, Septizodium, Septisolium (2)," IV.269-272. *LTUR* (1999) Thermae Antoninianae," V.42-48. Richardson (1992) 350, 387-389.

himself the savior of the city, by procuring the grain supply, peace, and safety for the city.

The term "soter" is multifaceted. The Greek goddess Soteria found its parallel in Rome in the cult of Salus, meaning safety, both private and public, before Salus became associated with the goddess Hygieia in the second century BCE.[953] Fortuna is frequently associated with the cults of Hygieia and Asclepius in the imperial period, all of which appear in bathing facilities (even with Fortuna Redux, the "restorer."[954]

Spes, and to a lesser extent Fides (already associated with Salus), appear with Fortuna in cult settings.[955] The possibly dual cult of Fortuna and Spes in the seventh region, on the Pincio, is a noteworthy example.[956] In the Forum Holitorium by S. Nicola in Carcere, the small Republican manubial temple (located south of the church), convincingly identified as that of Spes,[957] is virtually located across the street from the Temple of Fortuna in the

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[952] The *Monumentum Ancyranum* is an inscription that is a copy of Augustus' *Res Gestae* (displayed in front of the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome) in Latin *and* Greek, found on the Temple of Roma and Augustus in Galatia (modern Ankara): Brunt and Moore (1991) 1-2.

[953] Livy 40.37.2-3, Fears (1981c) 859-863.

[954] E.g., A dedicatory altar to Hygieia and Asclepius includes a relief of Fortuna standing next to Hygieia (other sides depict Minerva or Roma and Apollo): a description of the base (January 13, 159 CE); inscription and bibliography in Schraudolph (1993) 240, L172. See also the inscription RIB 445 from Britain, addressed to Asclepius, Salus, and Fortuna Redux, discussed in Kajanto (1988) 45. Fortuna Redux in bathing facilities: *Dea Fortuna Sancta Balinearis Redux* from Germania Superior, *CIL* 13.6552 in Kajanto (1988) 45.

[955] Champeaux (1987) 208-213, Fears (1981c) 859-863, *CIL* 10.3775, Hor. *Ode* I.35.21. Augustus used money designated to fabricate statues of him to create and dedicate statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax (Dio 54.35) in 10 BCE, all related to the cult of Fortuna in Rome.

[956] *LTUR* (1999) D. Palombi, "Spes, templum novum," IV.337-338. *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna, templum novum," II.267.

archaeological park of S. Omobono. The dedicator of the temple of Spes alluded to the bond between the cults by virtue of the location of one cult in the proximity to the other, creating an architectural ensemble of meaning and associations. Spes, Salus, and Fortuna all were associated in the Greek Hellenistic discourse: Salus (Soteria), Spes, and Fortuna (Tyche) led to Victory. As we will see below for the issue of imperial succession, the combination of Fortuna and Spes figures prominently in Antonine coinage regarding the issues of dynastic succession and well-being of the empire.

Many Hellenistic monarchs adopted the title soter. The most famous example is Ptolemy I Soter, the founder the Ptolemaic dynasty. The idea of soter was adopted by the late Republican dynasts as well.[958] In a similar fashion, Augustus' new cult of Fortuna Redux was another stepping stone to establish his own dynasty; he further emulated Ptolemy I Soter, who constructed many monuments in Alexandria, by a series of building projects in the Campus Martius (Chapter 4).

The concept of Augustus as the savior of Rome developed over time.[959] As soter, he ushered in a new golden age, filled with images of prosperity and fertility. The cornucopia of Fortuna, closely affiliated with the grain supply of Rome (and eventually also guaranteed by Augustus) and her venerable role in

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[957] *LTUR* (1999) F. Coarelli, "Spes, aedes," IV.336-337.
[958] Fears (1981c) 859-863.
[959] E.g., Galinsky (1996) 313ff.

fertility and procreation in Praeneste, Antium, and Rome, made Fortuna Redux a veritable soteriological symbol for Augustus. This imagery is clear on the well-preserved Julio-Claudian altar (or base) in the Capitoline Museums.[960] On one side, Fortuna is seated, holding cornucopia and rudder (without globe and wheel). On the short sides are twin cornucopiae with a caduceus, the usual symbol of Pax and *felicitas saeculi*.[961]

The same themes of fertility and abundance are apparent on the representations on coins representing the Altars of Fortuna Redux and Ara Pacis. A Neronian coin[962] depicts the vegetal scrolls that cover the lower half of the Ara Pacis precinct walls. Much of the monument has been preserved, and the complex representation of vegetal scrolls are interspersed with animals and flowers.[963]

The Altar of Fortuna Redux, of which no physical trace remains, is represented on the coinage of Q. Rustius, minted in 19 BCE, to commemorate the Altar of Fortuna Redux.[964] The depictions of the altar appear to have been partially covered with acanthus scrolls as well. However, this altar has been considered smaller and much simpler in architectural and artistic design than its successor, the Ara Pacis because the representation of the altar is much simpler,

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[960] Height: 0.78 m. Simon (Helbig II) 547-575, no. 1805, Stuart-Jones 285, no. 216, pl. 113, Lichocka (1997) 141-142, fig. 396.
[961] The backside depicts a patera and rudder. See fn. 520.
[962] Claridge (1998) 186 fig. 83.
[963] Zanker (1988a) 172-183, Castriota (1995) passim.

i.e., without figural panels.[965] Given the importance of a visual program for the later, albeit related, dynastic altars, the Ara Pacis, Ara Providentiae, and the Ara of the Gens Iulia, however, there is no cogent argument that the Altar of Fortuna Redux was not ornately decorated. Indeed, the vegetal scrolls that decorate the Ara Pacis so prominently, much larger in size than the figural reliefs above, are also present on the representation of the altar on Rustius' coin. The same related themes of fertility and procreation that exist between Pax and Fortuna during the Augustan age, constitute the visual and symbolic language of the so-called monument of Verrius Flaccus in Pareneste, as I will discuss in the following section.

Fortuna Redux and other Fortuna-related cults in the Augustan Roman calendar

The cults of Fortuna were prominently represented on the Roman calendar, according to Ovid's *Fasti* and the remains of the imperial calendars, particularly that from Praeneste, created by its famous Augustan-age citizen, Verrius Flaccus. Apparently, Flaccus' account influenced heavily Ovid when

964 Chapter 2, fn. 169, Illus. 2.2.
965 E.g., Richardson (1992) 137, Zanker (1988a) 160.

composing his *Fasti*, which also prominently features the festivals associated with the cult of Fortuna in Rome.[966]

Augustus recorded important events in his life in the Roman calendar; the tradition was continued by his successors, celebrating victories, ascension days, and birthdays of imperial family members.[967] The new cult of Fortuna Redux featured prominently in imperial calendars as well. In fact, the Altar of Fortuna Redux, followed by the Altar of Pax, represent the only two Augustan monuments for which two dates apiece are recorded in the imperial calendars.

The construction of the Ara Pacis Augustae was decreed to honor the return of Augustus from Spain and Gaul, July 4, 13 BCE, the day before the games of Apollo. The Altar was dedicated January 30, 9 BCE, not coincidentally, the birthday of Livia. Adding both dates to the Roman calendar followed the precedent set by the decree for and construction of the Altar of Fortuna Redux.[968]

Fortuna Redux

The cult of Fortuna Redux was added to the Augustan calendar, for both the day of consecration, marking the day Augustus returned to Rome, October 12 (*Augustalia*, feria publica p. R.: Degrassi 519-520), and the day of the dedication

[966] Bömer (1957-1958), Scullard (1981), Fraschetti (1990), Miller (1991), Barchiesi (1994), Herbert-Brown (1994), Conte (1994) 355-357.
[967] E.g., Wissowa (1912) 446.

of the altar, December 15 (Degrassi 538). The latter coincided with the festival day of the venerable Consualia festival, celebrated in the Circus Maximus by the Altar of Consus (Degrassi 538).[969] The day of Augustus' return was named *Augustalia*, establishing a strong link between princeps and Fortuna Redux. Rather than name the festival day *Fortunalia*, the Senate made clear the true focus of the new cult, the persona of Augustus. Games were celebrated on the *Augustalia* in 11 BCE (Dio 54.32.2), becoming official in 14 CE (Dio 56.46.4: when tribunes were placed in charge of the *Augustalia*; Tac., *ann*. 1.15). Celebrations that took place on that day were later extended, during Claudius' reign, from October 3-12, and became known as the *Ludi divi Augusti et Fortunae Reducis*.[970] Other Fortuna cults and cults related to Fortuna were added to the Augustan calendar, reflecting Augustus' interest in and devotion to Fortuna.

Cults of Felicitas, Genius, and Venus on the Capitoline

The cults of Genius Publicus, Fausta Felicitas, Venus Victrix and Apollo Palatinus were associated through their shared date of dedication, October 9

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[968] Gros (1976).

[969] This god was associated with Poseidon, Romulus' rape of the Sabine women, and agriculture. The Consualia was also celebrated on July 7 and August 21 (Tertullian, *De Spect*. 5.8, Degrassi 481, 499-500): Richardson (1992) 100. In *LTUR* (1993) P. Ciancio Rossetto, "Consus, ara," I.322 proposes December 21, instead of the date December 15.

[970] Wissowa (1912) 263, 457.

(Degrassi 518).[971] D. Palombi sees a religious and ideological nexus between the cults. The origins of the cults of genius, Felicitas, and Venus were probably Sullan. The possible grouping of the three shrines in a single, physical location on the Capitoline, could have been emulated by Pompey in the construction of his theater complex. The three Capitoline shrines all were subordinated to the Augustan religious program when their rededication day became October 9, the day of the vowing and dedication of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[972] In this way, the three deities became attendants of Apollo, just as the small shrines of Honos, Virtus, Felicitas, and Victoria acted as attendants to the larger Temple of Venus Victrix in Pompey's theater complex.

It is not incidental that the *Ludi Divi Augusti et Fortunae Reducis* was extended during the Claudian period from October 3-12, to include the ninth of October in its celebrations. As a result, the games became a celebration of many Augustan monuments, and Fortuna Redux, too, became a symbolic attendant of the Apollo Palatinus, who enjoyed privileged status under Augustus, rivaling the prominence of the Jupiter Capitolinus cult in Rome.[973] Indeed, as we have seen in the monumental Fortuna fountain located between the Theater of Marcellus and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, through their Seleucid heritage, Fortuna and

971 *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Fausta Felicitas," II.242-243. *LTUR* (1995) D. Palombi, "Genius Publicus/ Populi Romani," II365-368. *LTUR* (1999) D. Palombi, "Venus Victrix (Capitolium)," V.119-120, Richardson (1992) 148, 181, 411.
972 Gros (1976).
973 Apollo as principal figure in Augustan culture: Galinsky (1996) 215-219, 213-234 (Temple of Apollo Palatinus), 277-299, *LTUR* (1993) P. Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," I.54-57 with bibliography.

Apollo were paired in cult settings in Rome, possibly at the time of Augustus' reign.

Bonus Eventus

The Temple of Bonus Eventus was dedicated on Augustus' birthday, September 23 (when the *Ludi Augustales* were celebrated: Dio 55.6.6, 54.8.5, 26.2, 34.1, 56.46.4, 57.14.4), like the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, originally a project of Sosius. In each case, these two temples became associated under the shadow of the persona of Augustus, as were the Temples of Mars, Neptune, Jupiter Stator, and Jupiter Regina in the Circus Flaminius, also dedicated on Augustus' birthday.[974] Furthermore, according to Dio's accounts, the birthday of Augustus and the *Augustalia* (the festival day celebrated on October 12, 19 BCE, when the Altar of Fortuna Redux was decreed to Augustus) became intimately related festivals, representing the two most important annual honors directly bestowed upon the emperor (Dio 54.34.1, 56.29.1, 56.46.4).

Verrius Flaccus and Fortuna

[974] Degrassi 512.

Verrius Flaccus the freedman grammarian, who taught Augustus' grandsons Lucius and Gaius, had an influential hand in the Roman calendar during the rule of Augustus.[975] To this effect, he dedicated to himself a fountain, with a statue of himself, and a copy of the calendar,[976] fragments of which have been found in Praeneste.[977] This fragmentary calendar, in which the Fortuna cults appear prominently (after all, Praeneste, the site of Italy's largest Fortuna sanctuary, was Flaccus' hometown), gives the most in-depth accounts of Roman festivals out of all extant calendars. Flaccus' account influenced heavily Ovid when composing his *Fasti*, which also prominently features the festivals associated with the cult of Fortuna in Rome.[978]

Recently, Coarelli has reconstructed the monument and suggested that the curved "Grimani" reliefs, similar in quality and technique to the reliefs of the Ara Pacis, and the curved panels of the calendar fit into a small fountain with a curved apse.[979]

The ensemble presented the ancient viewer with many aspects of the goddess Fortuna, including, though not limited to, the Fortuna of Praeneste. Her cosmological power in time and over time was evident through the number of Fortuna festivals described on the calendar. The four animal reliefs continued the

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[975] Suet., *gramm. et rhet*. 17.2.
[976] Ibid., 17.4.
[977] Degrassi 106ff.
[978] Bömer (1957-1958), Scullard (1981), Fraschetti (1990), Barchiesi (1994), Herbert-Brown (1994), Conte (1994) 355-357.

theme of Fortuna's role in time, as each animal represented one of the four seasons, and added that of fecundity, as each female animal nurses its offspring.[980] Through the calendar and location of the monument, in Praeneste, Fortuna Primigenia was alluded to, in addition to the Fortuna of the individual, Verrius, whose statue was displayed in the monument; Verrius' monument attested the power of Fortuna, who reversed his role from slave to freedman instructor of Augustus' grandsons. As I have discussed, Fortuna consistently played a popular role in changing one's lot in life in Praeneste and Rome. The placement of the monument in a fountain not only recalled the water running through the sanctuary of Fortuna on the hillside above, but also the watery grotto of the fish mosaic, in the basilica directly behind the fountain. The curved shape of the fountain also mimicked the grotto.[981] Through all of these elements, Verrius' monument is a microcosm of the entire Fortuna sanctuary and the role of Fortuna in Italy.[982]

THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNA REDUX IN ROME

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[979] Coarelli (1987)= Coarelli (1996b) 455-469. Palma (1976) 45-49. Agnoli (2000) 152-160 with recent bibliography on the "Grimani" relief in Praeneste and comments on Coarelli's hypothesis.
[980] Aristotle, *histor. anim.* 6.31, Coarelli (1987) passim. Fortuna Primigenia: Champeaux (1982) 3-187. I have argued above that the Altar of Fortuna Redux also conveyed images of fertility and abundance, as part of the prevalence of fertility imagery denoting the Augustan golden age in literature and art: Zanker (1988a) .
[981] Coarelli (1996b) 455-469, Sauron (1994) 133-135.
[982] Ibid.

The reason for its inception

The construction of the Temple of Fortuna Redux followed the creation of the Altar of Fortuna Redux. Similarly, Vespasian built the Temple, and Forum, of Peace. This monumental structure imitated, on a massive scale, the proportions of the precinct wall of the Altar of Peace.[983] In both cases, the physical size of the temples constitute a continuation and confirmation of the Augustan cults previously established in Rome in the modest form of altars, as well as a growth of the interest in the cults.

Location

The exact location of the Temple of Fortuna Redux remains enigmatic. Despite the rich literary record, which includes several topographical references, the archaeological evidence does not confirm recent hypotheses about the whereabouts of the temple.

The Temple of Fortuna Redux was located by the Porta Triumphalis, indicating the temple's prestigious role in the parade of victorious emperors throughout the city. The bond between Fortuna, and Felicitas, and the Porta Triumphalis was an old one, since Fortuna was a prerequisite of the victorious

[983] Ward-Perkins (1990) 66, Claridge (1998) 153 states that the precinct was ten times the size of the Ara Pacis. *LTUR*: (1999) F. Coarelli, "Pax, Templum," IV.67-70, Richardson (1992) 286ff.

general.[984] Although the literary sources provide enough information to identify the general whereabouts of the two monuments in Rome, any secure identification of the structures remains elusive. The following examination of the evidence reevalutes the previous identifications (mostly those of F. Coarelli) and underlines the longevity of the cult.

The Altars of Fortuna Redux and Pax Augusta were dedicated in honor of two *reditus* of Augustus; no triumph was held, but alluded to by the placement of the Altar of Fortuna Redux at the Porta Capena. The Temple of Fortuna Redux was much more clearly associated with the triumph, being located next to the Porta Triumphalis.

The *adventus* and *profectio* also became intimately associated with the Temple of Fortuna Redux because of the Porta Triumphalis. As I will discuss below, both of these scenes were represented on Antonine-period reliefs depicting the temple and gate. The *profectio* began on the Capitoline hill. After taking the auspices there, the departing official received a *salutatio* before setting forth from the city, often descending the *centum gradus*, exiting from the left gate (going

984 Versnel (1970) discusses the role of Nortia in the triumph: 273ff, 295. More recently, Strazzulla (1993) has elaborated on the role of Fortuna Respiciens, and the persona of Nortia, in the triumphal route. The Etruscan cult of Nortia, into whose temple wall a nail was hammered with each victory of the Volsinii (Livy 7.3.7) was imitated in Rome: fn. 834. Versnel (1970) discusses the significance of the Porta Triumphalis, and the idea of the triumphator as the "bearer of good luck": 356ff. On the triumphal route, with bibliography: Künzl (1988).

towards the Forum)[985] of a double gate of the "Servian" wall.[986] The right-hand entrance (going towards the Forum) of the double gate, identified with the Porta Carmentalis, was called the Porta Triumphalis.[987] If the official was a general, or emperor, who departed for war, his ultimate goal was to return (*adventus*) to Rome to celebrate a triumph, proceeding through the second gate of the Porta Triumphalis, with his army, enslaved enemy, and *spolia* in tow.

Only a triumphing general could enter the city through the Porta Triumphalis, unless granted special permission by the Senate.[988] The double gate is depicted on two reliefs from a lost Arch of Marcus Aurelius, one of which

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[985] This gate became known as the Porta Scelerata [Festus 450L, 358L, Ovid, Fasti 2.201-204, Dio frag. 20 (21).3] because the 306 Fabii exited Rome through the gate on their disastrous campaign against Veii in 479/478 BCE.

[986] Porta Triumphalis, Porta Carmentalis: Coarelli (1988) passim. Coarelli (1988) 398, *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Porta Carmentalis," III.324-325 suggests that the double gate phenomenon was created because a gate from the original archaic century wall remained in use when a gate of the fourth century BCE wall circuit was erected next to it. Salutatio: Versnel (1970) 341-342, Coarelli (1988) 456-458, 292-293, Cincius, in Fest., 276L: *Praetor ad portam, nunc salutatur is qui in provinciam pro praetore aut pro consule exit*. Centum gradus: Coarelli (1988) 456, *LTUR* (1993) E. Rodríguez Almeida, "Centum gradus," I.259, which was located near the Porta Carmentalis (Dion. Hal. 10.14.2, Plu., Cam. 25.2-3) and the Fornix Calpurnius [Coarelli (1988) 457, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fornix Calpurnius," II.263]. Richardson (1992) 80, 153-154. Coarelli (1988) 409-414ff. also explores the significance of the Porta "Scelerata" denomination applied to the gate through the Fabii (see above) and its relationship to the archaic triumph and the Porta Ratumena/ Ratumenna, *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Porta Ratumena, Ratumenna," III.331, the possible predecessor of the Porta Triumphalis.

[987] Although they disagree about the exact location of the gates and the location of the Temple of Fortuna Redux [e.g., Richardson (1992) 157], both Richardson (1992) 301 and Coarelli (1968), (1988) passim, *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Porta Carmentalis," III.324-325, "Porta Triumphalis," III.333-334 concur that the Porta Carmentalis and Porta Triumphalis are one and the same. The location of the Porta Carmentalis: Virg., *Aen*. 8.337-341, Serv. ad loc., Ovid, *Fasti* 1.461-508, Dion. Hal. 1.32.2.

[988] The Senate passed a motion, allowing Augustus' body to be carried through the Porta Triumphalis for his funeral procession (Suet., *Aug*. 100.2, Dio 56.42.1).

presents the double gate next to the Temple of Fortuna Redux.[989] The only identifiable Fortuna temple in the vicinity of the gates, located at the end of the Vicus Iugarius, is the Temple of Fortuna in the S. Omobono "area sacra," which Coarelli identifies as the Temple of Fortuna Redux.[990] Indeed, Coarelli notes the accuracy in the depiction of the temple in the relief, which is placed to the left of the double gate, corresponding with the location of the Temple of Fortuna in the sanctuary (further west than the Temple of Mater Matuta) and his identification of the Porta Triumphalis.[991] It has generally been accepted that the Porta Triumphalis was located at the end of the Vicus Iugarius, in the vicinity of the S. Omobono area.[992] However, there are many points of Coarelli's hypothesis (i.e., the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the Temple of Fortuna in the S. Omobono area are one and the same) that require further comment.

In response to criticism in the past,[993] Coarelli modified much of his original study, conducted in 1968, in his later study of the Forum Boarium, published in 1988, many points of which are reiterated in several of Coarelli's contributions to the *LTUR*. From the list of early Servian Fortuna cults, mentioned in Plutarch's *On the Fortune of the Romans*, Coarelli first

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[989] Coarelli (1988) 363-414, figs. 85-86, *LTUR* (1993) M. Torelli, "Arcus Marci Aurelii," I.98-99. G. Koeppel, *Bjb* 186 (1986) 9-12, 47-76 with bibliography.
[990] Coarelli (1968), (1988) 274-276, 363-414, 443-450, 451-459, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Redux, templum," II.275-276.
[991] Coarelli (1988) 374-381.
[992] *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Porta Triumphalis," III.333-334 with summary of the scholarship surrounding the location of the gate.
[993] Some critics are cited in Coarelli (1988) 363 fn. 2, 382 fn. 47.

hypothesized that the Temple of Fortuna Redux was, in Plutarch's list (written in Greek), Fortuna "epistrephomene." Other scholars immediately rejected this idea, especially because the term in Greek, "looking back," corresponds exactly with the cult of Fortuna Respiciens.[994] In his more recent study, Coarelli postulates that the Greek term for Redux is Fortuna "apotropaios," usually interpreted as a minor cult, and generally translated in Latin as "mala" or "averrunca."[995] Coarelli's suggestion is weakened by the fact that when Fortuna Redux is securely identifiable in Greek it is called either Τυξη Επαναγωγοω ("leading back," Dio 54.10.3), or Τυξη Σωτηριοω (savior) in the Greek translation of Augustus' *Res Gestae* 11, as previously discussed.[996]

Although in his new argument Coarelli identifies the S. Omobono Fortuna cult as Fortuna apotropaios, he continues argue that it contained two elements of the Fortuna cult that the ancient sources locate in other places in Rome: the Porta Fenestella and archaic statue of Fortuna (or Servius Tullius). Coarelli himself admits that the ancient sources consistently locate the Porta Fenestella on the Via

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[994] E.g., Champeaux (1982) 268 fn.92, Kajanto (1988) 37, Strazzulla (1993), *LTUR*, L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Respiciens," II.276-278.

[995] Coarelli (1988) 274, 382. Little is actually known about the cult, summarized in *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna (Tyche apotropaios)," II.267-268, Richardson (1992) 155, Platner and Ashby (1965) 215.

[996] Kajanto (1988) 37. Coarelli (1988) 382 fn. 50 himself acknowledges and agrees with Champeaux (1982) 26-27 fn. 92 who states that originally, the cult of Fortuna in the S. Omobono "area sacra" did not have an epithet. At the same time, he suggests that Tyche apotropaios, cited in Plu., *q. Rom*. 74, was the cult, founded by Servius Tullius, that would eventually become the site of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, never allowing the cult ever to be without an epithet!

Nova.[997] However, he flatly rejects the location of the Porta Fenestella cited in the ancient sources and locates it in the vicinity of the S. Omobono sanctuary because (he asserts) hierogamy was practiced there, a cult practice that recalls the sexual relationship between Servius and Fortuna through the Porta Fenestella.[998] He also locates the archaic statue of Servius (or Fortuna) in the Temple of Fortuna S. Omobono. Scholars in the past have identified the statue in the shrine of Fortuna Virgo, which has been the usual identification of the "S. Omobono" Fortuna.[999] More recently, Strazzulla convincingly has located the shrine of Fortuna Virgo and her cult statue on the Esquiline hill.[1000]

Coarelli identifies the first version of the Porta Triumphalis with the double arch that Stertinius erected in the sanctuary of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta (i.e., in the S. Omobono area) in 196 BCE.[1001] However, as F.

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[997] Ovid, *Fasti* 6.573-578, Plu., *q. Rom*. 36, Plu., *de fort. Rom*. 10, Livy 1.41.4, Macrob., *Saturn*. 3.12.8, Paul. Fest., 80L, Diom. Gramm., 381 Keil, *CIL* 8.6973. Coarelli (1988) 305-306 311-312, 374-375, 456, *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Porta Fenestella," III.327, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Domus: Tarquinius Superbus," II.185. For similar arguments, Champeaux (1982) 293ff.

[998] Coarelli (1988) 310-437, *contra*, Palmer (1990) 242-244. E.g., Coarelli (1988) 303, in reference to Ovid *Fasti* 6.573-578: "Non è dunque possibile accettare, razionalisticamente, le implicazioni topografiche apparenti della storiella: un incontro amoroso per Ovidio non poteva che aver luogo nella stanza del re; contrariamente a tutte le avventure romantiche del genere, è però la donna a introdursi nottetempo nella casa dell'uomo. Non ci viene precisato il mezzo utilizzato (una scala?); ma si sa che agli dei tutto è possibile." Champeaux (1982) 293ff. also "relocates" the Porta Fenestella in the S. Omobono Fortuna shrine, contrary to the indications of the literary sources. For the relationship between Servius Tullius and Fortuna (identified with Tanaquil, Tarquinius Priscus' wife): Champeaux (1982) 324-326, 331ff., 344ff., 440-446. Coarelli (1988) 267-269, 306-307, 313-314, 318-319.

[999] Coarelli (1988) 260ff, 272ff. Examples of scholarship that identifies the statue in the shrine of Fortuna Virgo: Platner and Ashby (1965) 219, Champeaux (1982) 268-274.

[1000] Strazzulla (1993), *LTUR*, L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Respiciens," II.276-278, "Fortuna, Seiani, aedes," II.278, J. Aronen, "Fortuna Virgo," 279-280.

[1001] *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Arcus Stertinii," II.267, Platner and Ashby (1965) 212, Coarelli (1968) 82, 89-92

Kleiner points out, originally, the Porta Triumphalis was a gate of the "Servian" wall, not a free-standing arch, and Stertinius' arch was not even a triumphal arch.[1002]

According to Coarelli's interpretation of Martial (8.65-76),[1003] Domitian rebuilt both the Temple of Fortuna Redux and the Porta Triumphalis after a fire in the area in 80 CE[1004] and after his victory against the Germans in 93 CE.[1005] This would mean that the damaged temple and gate were left unrepaired between circa 80-93 CE. The archaeological evidence in the S. Omobono sanctuary that corresponds to the foundations of an arch (if it not just part of a portico),[1006] are Hadrianic, however, not Domitianic, in date.[1007] In response to past criticism for this chronological discrepancy, Coarelli now cites a fire in this area of Campus Martius during the Hadrianic period, thereby wiping out any trace of the Domitianic phase in the S. Omobono "area sacra."[1008] The structure identified as

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[1002] Kleiner (1989) 201-204, following Pfanner's suggestion [Pfanner, (1980)], that the Porta Triumphalis is depicted in a drawing in the Codex Coburgensis, which Coarelli (1988) 402-405 rejects. The main shortcoming of Pfanner's and Kleiner's identification is that only one gate, not two, is represented.

[1003] *Hic ubi Fortunae reducis fulgentia late/ templa nitent, felix area nuper erat./ Hic stetit Arctoi formosus pulvere belli/ pupureum fundens Caesar ab ore iubar;/ hic lauro redimita comas et candida cultu/ Roma salutavit voce manuque deum./ Grande loci mertium testantur et altera dona:/ Stat sacer et domitis gentibus arcus ovat:/ Hic gemini currus numerant elephanta frequentem,/ sufficit inmensis aureus ipse iugis./ Haec est digna tuis, Germanice, porta triumphis; /hic aditus urbem Martis habere decet.* Coarelli (1988) 373 with translation.

[1004] Coarelli (1988) 389.

[1005] Coarelli (1968), (1988) 274-276, 363-414, 443-450, 451-459, *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Redux, templum," II.275-276.

[1006] E.g., Claridge (1998) 252.

[1007] Coarelli (1988) 443-450.

[1008] Ibid., 400 fn. 100. Coarelli (1988) 452 identifies the only extant remains of the Domitianic arch as the Cancelleria panels. See below.

the "gate" (a triumphal arch according to Coarelli) contains six pylons (rather than the expected four).[1009]

The Hadrianic construction, curiously, led to the impressive *reduction* in the size of the temples to more than half their Republican size. The diminution of the temples, from their original dimensions to the cellae, is inconsistent with Martial's description of the impressive temple and arch (8.65-76). This decrease in the size of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta during the Hadrianic phase are noted, but not interpreted, by Coarelli.[1010]

Other theories surrounding the location of the Porta Triumphalis and the Temple of Fortuna Redux exist,[1011] but those who agree that the Porta Triumphalis is near the S. Omobono sanctuary do not accept Coarelli's identification of the Temple in the S. Omobono as the Temple of Fortuna Redux. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 2, the Forum Boarium, to which the sanctuary belonged, was the meat market and close to Rome's earliest emporium; this was the daily activity in the area, not the triumphal parade.[1012] Inscriptions from the archaic to the imperial periods record, continuously, dedications to Fortuna made

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[1009] Coarelli (1988) 443-450. Coarelli also presents two different views of the triumphal procession and what he identifies as the Porta Triumphalis in his topographical maps of the area under discussion. In figure 82 p. 367, he depicts the Porta Triumphalis with four piers. In the discussion of the Porta Triumphalis in appendices 2-3 and figure 112 p. 454, he shows six piers.
[1010] Ibid., 443-450, 451-459, esp. 453-456. The *reduction* of the Republican temples to their cellae in the Hadrianic period suggests a *decreased* importance of the temples, rather than increased prominence in the religio-political context.
[1011] E.g., theories cited in *LTUR* (1996) F. Coarelli, "Porta Triumphalis," III.333-334, Richardson (1992) 157.
[1012] Palmer (1990) 242-244.

by traders and business people occupied with commerce and shipping; there is no sign of Fortuna Redux here.[1013] Furthermore, after the second century CE repavement in travertine, the central area became even more densely packed, through the addition of stalls for shops. In addition, in a recent study, Scott has noted problems with the continual expansion of the pomerium, under Claudius, Hadrian, and Aurelian, among others, which would have affected the importance and use of the Porta Triumphalis during the triumphal procession.[1014]

Phases of the temple

According to an inscription that cites a freedman of Tiberius, *Ti. Iulius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Limen Stabilianus*, as an *aedituus Fortunae Reducis (CIL* 6.8705), a Temple of Fortuna Redux existed in Rome at least as early as the Tiberian period. The temple may have been constructed as early as the reign of Augustus, when the "Porticus Triumphi," which would have included the Porta Triumphalis, was reconstructed.[1015] As mentioned earlier, in 7 CE the Altar of Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta was dedicated on the Vicus Iugarius, apparently in

[1013] Ibid.

[1014] Scott (2000) 183-191 esp. 183-185.

[1015] D. Filippi, "Il portichetto in peperino del Foro Olitorio e le strutture adiacenti: una proposta di lettura," a talk presented at the British School in Rome, January 28, 2000. Filippi, through a detailed architectonic study of the peperino and travertine moldings, proposes an early Augustan date for the porticus. Coarelli (1988) 394-398, *LTUR* (1999) F. Coarelli, "Porticus Triumphi," IV.151, Claridge (1998) 250 date the porticus to the late Republican period (first century BCE).

response to the famine that was recorded on that year. Given Fortuna's past history with the Annona in the Campus Martius, Fortuna Redux's symbolic link to the *cura annonae* undertaken by Augustus in 23 BCE, and the location of the altar (isolated from the other cults of Ceres and Ops in Rome), this new altar may have been symbolically placed in the vicinity of an Augustan Temple of Fortuna Redux.[1016]

No trace remains of the Domitianic phase of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, nor the Porta Triumphalis, decorated with elephants, as mentioned by Martial (8.65-76). According to Coarelli, they were destroyed in the fire of 80 CE; that is why there is no evidence of a Domitianic phase in the S. Omobono area, where Coarelli locates the Fortuna Redux temple.[1017]

He also theorizes that the three Marcus Aurelius reliefs depicting scenes related to the Temple of Fortuna Redux, i.e., *adventus* and *profectio* (parallels for which are found on the private reliefs inscribed *salvos ire* with Fortuna and *salvos venire* with a divinity reclining on a wheel, representing a road), were part of the "Hadrianic" phase of the temple.[1018] With the enlargement of the pomerium

[1016] A parallel is the Ara Pacis Augustae which was later joined, architecturally, by the addition of the Altar Providentiae, on the other side of the Via Lata.
[1017] Coarelli (1988) 389. Coarelli (1988) 452 suggests that the Cancelleria reliefs belonged to the Flavian phase decoration of the Porta Trimphalis, since they depict an *adventus* and *profectio*. They were dismantled after Domitian's "*damnatio memoriae*."
[1018] Private reliefs: Coarelli (1988) 391ff., figs. 94, 95, Stuart-Jones (1912) 51 n. 8, tab. 10; *CIL* 6.830. Three reliefs from dismantled Marcus Aurelius arch: two of are found on the Arch of Constantine, a third was found in the Church of SS. Luca e Martina, now located in the Capitoline Museums (Museo dei Conservatori). For bibliography: Coarelli (1988) 363-414, figs. 85-86,

during Aurelian's reign, Coarelli argues that the Porta Triumphalis (and Temple of Fortuna Redux) lost their original significance, as the symbolic entrance into the city. Indeed, he asserts that the fragment of a pilaster found near the "Porta Triumphalis" pylons and some newly published relief fragments found in the S. Omobono sanctuary are Antonine in date, from the hypothetical Antonine-dated Porta Triumphalis.[1019]

The medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, who ruled in 251-253 CE (described below) would have marked the final period before the temple and gate fell into disuse.[1020] Fragments of a contemporary relief (mentioned previously) found in the Forum Boarium depict the pediment of the Fortuna Redux Temple in correspondence to the depiction of the pediment on third century medallion.[1021]

Contrary to Coarelli's stated opinion, that the Temple of Fortuna Redux and Porta Triumphalis lost their significance at the end of the third century CE, a late source records the existence of the Temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome beyond the moment when Aurelian extended the pomerium. Claudian states in his *panegyricus* written in honor of Honorius' sixth consulship dates to 404 CE, *Aurea Fortunae Reducis si templa priores/ ob reditum vovere ducum*, suggesting that the cult and temple of Fortuna Redux were still prominent in Rome as late at

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LTUR (1993) M. Torelli, "Arcus Marci Aurelii," I.98-99. Koeppel (1986) 9-12, 47-76 with bibliography. Coarelli (1988) 363-414, 452-459.
[1019] Coarelli (1988) 401 figs. 101, 102, 447 fig. 107, 452.
[1020] Ibid., fig. 91, 452-459.

the early fifth century CE.[1022] Despite the continual enlargement of the pomerium, the cult and Temple of Fortuna Redux apparently remained an important symbol of victorious Rome and the emperor. Its was such a continuous symbol of Roman power that it was even maintained in the new capital of Constantinople (*CIL* 3.733= D.820). The inscription records thanks for her help in defeating the Goths in 332 CE.[1023]

The iconography of Fortuna Redux (and its meaning) in the context of her temple in Rome

The cult of Fortuna Redux, and its iconography, changed from the conception of the altar to the creation of the temple. I have reviewed the possible features of the altar above, particularly theme of fertility and abundance. The temple's decoration, reviewed below, is better preserved and indicates, instead, Fortuna's strong relationship with the Lares, genius, Nemesis, and the emperor.

As I reviewed in Chapter 2, Roman coinage depicts, throughout the imperial period, Fortuna holding a cornucopia and rudder, in either a standing or sitting position. By the Vespasianic period, a globe appears under the rudder. In Trajanic times, and thereafter (also the date of the material evidence to be

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[1021] Loreti (1996) 243-254.
[1022] *LTUR* (1995) F. Coarelli, "Fortuna Redux, templum," II.275-276 cites the Claudian passage, without comment.
[1023] Kajanto (1988a) fn. 69 with bibliography.

discussed below), a wheel appears, sometimes with, and sometimes without, a globe.[1024]

In the historical reliefs in Rome, the frequency of the appearance of the Temple of Fortuna Redux indicates her importance as part of the victory rhetoric of the emperor, regardless of the original locations of the reliefs.[1025] As the Altar of Fortuna Redux became associated with the continual campaigns against the Parthians by virtue of the circumstances of Augustus' return and its location by the Porta Capena (discussed above), the Temple of Fortuna Redux came to represent the image of all major imperial victories, celebrated by the emperor.

The representations of the pediment of the Temple of Fortuna Redux depict Fortuna Redux in a consistent manner. The Trajanic relief found in the Forum Iulium (rebuilt and dedicated by Trajan in 113 CE) shows, in the center of the pediment, a fragmentary representation of Fortuna (top half missing). To her right is a large, multi-spoked wheel, flanked by a cornucopia. The left half of the pediment is lost.[1026]

The three reliefs once belonging to an arch of Marcus Aurelius, of which eleven reliefs are preserved (eight on the Arch of Constantine and three now located in the Museo dei Conservatori), have been the subject of numerous

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[1024] Chapter 2, 84ff.

[1025] Rausa (1997) 140. Coarelli asserts that two famous relief series, the Cancelleria and Marcus Aurelius reliefs, once decorated the Porta Triumphalis. However, some of the "Antonine" reliefs were found on the in the Church of SS. Luca e Martina (near their original location?), and the Trajanic relief was found in the Forum Iulium.

[1026] N. Degrassi, *BCom* (1939) 61ff, Coarelli (1988) 375, fig. 88.

studies.[1027] The Marcus Aurelius "adventus" relief shows the pediment of the tetrastyle temple, which is located to the left of two arches. In the center Fortuna, apparently holds a staff in her left hand and patera in her extended right hand. To her right is a globe and to her left is a four-spoked wheel. Cornucopiae appear in the outermost corners of the pediment. The emperor, recarved as Constantine, stands below, under a Victoria figure, who extends a garland over his head. Behind him are Mars (in the foreground) and a veiled woman (in the background), variously identified. In front of her, in the foreground, is Roma, standing before the Porta Triumphalis. Facing the emperor, in the background is a woman holding a cornucopia in her left hand and caduceus in her right. The iconography of caduceus and cornucopia suggests an identification of Fortuna, Felicitas, or Abundantia.[1028]

The Marcus Aurelius "profectio" scene depicts the Porta Triumphalis. In the foreground stands Marcus Aurelius (carved to look like Constantine) and his entourage; he looks at an allegorical figure of a *via* (road): a reclining woman with nude torso, leaning on a wheel. In the background is a double gate, decorated elephants above the attic (part of the triumphal chariot statuary placed there by Domitian: Martial 8.65-76). In the third, related, relief (in the Museo dei Conservatori), the tetrastyle Temple of Fortuna Redux is depicted with a blank

[1027] Ryberg (1967), La Rocca (1986), M. Torelli, "Arcus Marci Aurelii," I.98-99. Koeppel (1986) 9-12, 47-76 with bibliography.
[1028] Angelicoussis (1984) tab. 66.2, Coarelli (1988) 379ff. figs. 85, 90.

pediment, in the scene Marcus Aurelius' triumph over the Germans and Sarmatians in 176 CE.

The coin of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (251-253 CE) represents the emperors making a sacrifice in front of the temple.[1029] The pediment portrays Fortuna in the center, flanked by two smaller figures who are, in turn, flanked by a wheel and cornucopia (right) and globe and cornucopia (left). Through the columns of the hexastyle temple, the cult statue of Fortuna is visible. She has the standard iconography of cornucopia and rudder. At her feet is a large globe. The acroteria statues include, in the center, Fortuna, holding cornucopia and rudder. She is flanked by a female figure holding staff and small statue (Victoria on a globe?) on the left. On the right is another female figure holding a staff and carrying a *spolia opima* slung over her left shoulder. The double representation of Fortuna, as cult figure and at the center of the pediment finds a parallel in the Mars Ultor pediment and cult statue of Mars Ultor, which presents two depictions of the same god.

The decoration of a recently–published relief, found in the Forum Boarium, gives more insight on the identity of the two smaller figures that flank Fortuna in the pediment.[1030] Since they appear only on the medallion and this

[1029] Coarelli (1988) fig. 91, 375.

[1030] Loreti (1996) 243-254. Although the ruined surface obscures many features of the figures (I have not yet examined the relief in person), the "Lar" to the left of Fortuna may actually be wearing a Phrygian cap and tunic, which is longer than that of the *Lar* to the right of Fortuna. This would mean that the pedimental statue group was more complex, originally portraying two

relief, the relief has been dated to the third century CE, contemporaneous with the medallion. The figures are recognizable as the *Lares* by their distinct tunics. As previously discussed, the relationship between the *Lares* and Fortuna was close; they appeared together in private, household shrines. In addition to the frequency that Fortuna occurs with the *Lares*, Richardson has pointed out that the goddess was compital deity as well.[1031] Indeed, the pomerium, along which the triumphal route followed, was marked with compital shrines, one of which is just outside of the S. Omobono sanctuary. This relationship would be echoed in the Fortuna-*Lares* triad, recalling the genius of the paterfamilias-Lares triad of compital shrines (replaced by the genius Augusti-Lares triad), and at the same time recalling Fortuna's private, domestic role, which had become, in the imperial period, a standard feature of many emperors, especially the Antonines.

The prominence of the wheel in the pediments, cited above, connotes transportation and commerce (especially maritime) and trade (especially grain), activities which took place in the Forum Boarium and activities with which Fortuna was associated throughout the Republic and imperial periods.[1032] As we have seen earlier, the cult of Fortuna Redux at the Porta Capena signified the return of the Parthian standards and the emperors' continued fight against (and

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pairs of figures, represented on the relief by one figure from each pair, i.e., the *Lares* (on the right) and the Penates (on the left), who often appear in Phrygian dress: Mambella (1994) 288-291.
[1031] *CIL* 6.761, Richardson (1992) 157-158, *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Stata," II.278, *LTUR* (1995) L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Seiani, aedes," II.278 (who questions if the inscription reads *Seiae* or *Statae*).
[1032] Palmer (1990) 242-244, Simon (1990) 51-79.

conquest of) Parthia. The role of Fortuna Redux that protects and returns the emperor also was linked to her role as patronness of the sea, also a noted role of the emperor.[1033]

In the context of the Fortuna Redux temple, the wheel also recalls a recurrent theme in the *profectio*, i.e., the wheel as representation of the Roman Via. This applies particularly to the Via Appia, as visualized in the Marcus Aurelius *profectio* relief, which began at the Porta Capena, the location of the Altar of Fortuna Redux.[1034] The wheel on the pediment, therefore, refers to the wheel that brings the emperor back to the city, in eventual triumph.

The wheel may also allude to the relationship between Fortuna and Nemesis, which was prominent by the second century CE in Rome. The wheel of Fortuna is a common symbol of instability and uncertainty, preceded by the appearance of the wheel in the cult of Nemesis in the East.[1035] In the context of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, the wheel, shared by both deities signifies both the fickle nature of each deity and the emperor's power over it, since he controlled the fate of Rome and the empire. The uncertain nature of Fortuna was already present in the triumphal process through the cult of Fortuna Respiciens, who, with

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[1033] Suet., *Aug*. 98, states that Alexandrian sailors gave thanks to Augustus (rather than Neptune, Isis, or Fortuna) after their arrival at the harbor in Puteoli. For the role and cult of the emperor and harbors, Tuck (1997) passim, Ando (2000) 385ff.

[1034] Coarelli identifies the road as the Via Flaminia, without explanation. Given the past relationship of the Fortuna Redux altar and the Via Appia, and its use by Marcus Aurelius to set out for war, the Via Appia is a more probable identification of the personification of a road.

[1035] Simon (1995) 119-130, Karanastassi (1992) 733-762 (180-182), *contra* Hornum (1993) 26ff.

Nortia and Nemesis, were aspects that warned the triumphator (and emperor) of *hybris* (as noted in Martianus Capella 1.88).[1036]

The two goddesses overlapped constantly in the imperial period, if not before. During Julius Caesar's visit to Alexandria, he dedicated a Nemesion to Pompey;[1037] possibly the image of Nemesis arrived in Rome through Caesar's intervention.[1038] In Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, the structure is changed to a Fortuneum or Tychaion, keeping with the central theme in the poem of Fortuna as the chief deity who watched over and protected Caesar.[1039]

The prominent, malevolent role of Fortuna in Lucan's poem precedes her function in the Roman novel, in which Fortuna and Nemesis constantly appear instruments of chance.[1040] For example, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, it is Fortuna that jilts Lucius, eventually saved by Isis.[1041] However, in the novel's Greek predecessor, *Lucius*, or *The Ass* by pseudo-Lucian, it is Nemesis (35), rather than Fortuna, that causes ruin and misfortune on the protagonist.

[1036] Strazzulla (1993) passim, Versnel (1970) 273ff., 295. Simon (1995) 119-130.
[1037] Appian, *Bell.Civ*. 2.90.
[1038] Lichocka (1998) 619-634, Simon (1995) 128-130.
[1039] Lucan, *Bell. Civ*. 8.712-872.
[1040] Fortuna in Lucan: Baldwin (1911), Marti (1945), (1966), (1970), (1975), Getty (1960), Morford (1967), Dick (1967), Martindale (1975), Saylor (1978), Ahl (1974a), (1974b), (1976), Lapidge (1979), Johnson (1987), Henderson (1988), Rutz (1984-85), Masters (1992). Fortuna in Petronius: Luck (1972), George (1974), Guido (1975), Grimal (1977), Bodel (1994). Fortuna in the Roman Novel is beyond the current study: Ferguson (1970) 80ff., Walsh (1970), Hägg (1983), Tatum (1994), Schmeling (1996), Bowie and Harrison (1996).
[1041] Fortuna in Apuleius: Griffiths (1975), Fry (1984), Winkler (1984).

Fortuna as a negative force was commonly accepted in cult settings, not limited to literary topoi, as I have argued in Chapter 2.[1042] By the imperial period, the uncertain nature of Fortuna became more prevalent in art through the depiction of the wheel, though, as discussed above, highlighting the emperor's special bond with the goddess and his power over her capriciousness.

Imperial authors, such as Dio Chrysostom (*or*. 64.8) and others (e.g., Amm. Marc. 14.11.25ff) frequently equated Fortuna with, among other deities, Nemesis.[1043] Fortuna who appears in the Antonine and Severan emperors' bedrooms according to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*SHA, Ant. Pius* 12.5, *Marcus* 7.3, *Sev.* 23.5-6), was considered the same as Nemesis in a later passage (e.g., *S.H.A. Max. et Balb*. 8.6) and in imperial inscriptions, e.g., *CIL* 3.1125 (*deae Nemesi sive Fortunae*). The iconography and cult of Nemesis, always more pertinent to the cult of Fortuna in the imperial period through the wheel attribute, continued to evolve in the imperial period as a dispenser of justice, both in the gladiatorial arena and alongside the Roman emperor in war against the barbarians.[1044]

In examinations of Nemesis' frequent companion the griffin, Simon and Davies have discussed Nemesis' griffin as a symbol of military force and

[1042] The Christian authors, such as Augustine and Lactantius, discussed in Kajanto (1981) 553ff. attack the popular cult of Fortuna in Rome, which they perceive as one of the symbols of Roman religion, rather than a topos without cultic and religious implications (as Kajanto asserts).
[1043] Axtell (1907) 37, 44, Wissowa (1912) 377-378.
[1044] Hornum (1993), (1998) 131-138. Cf., Edwards (1990), Rausa (1992) 762-770 (264-265), Lichocka (1998) 619-634.

vengeance on imperial monuments, such as the sculptural frieze on the Trajanic Basilica Ulpia; the griffin also has chthonic implications, tied to Apollo and Dionysus, suggestive of the emperor's eventual apotheosis.[1045] The wheel of Fortuna on the pediment of the Temple of Fortuna Redux, shared only with Nemesis, was a polyvalent symbol, which promoted the emperor and simultaneously warned the viewer of the consequences of an uncertain Fortuna. The personality of an unstable Fortuna would loom larger in Roman society in the Antonine and Severan periods, as I will discuss in the section on succession.

FORTUNA AS FORTUNA REDUX AND FORTUNA AUGUSTA: IMPERIAL CULT, DEATH AND SOCIETY, AND THE GUARANTOR OF DYNASTIC SUCCESSION

Fortuna's popularity is evidenced by the fact that she ranks among the four most frequently attested deities in Latin in the Roman empire.[1046] Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, the most common imperial epithets of Fortuna, are recorded in great numbers in dedications in Italy, the Danube provinces, and Africa.[1047]

Through the epithet "redux" the standard interpretation of the cult of Fortuna Redux is the Fortuna that protects the safety and return of the emperor.[1048] Dedications made by the Arval Brethren record such dedications

[1045] Apul., *De Mundo* 38. Davies (2000) 33-34, Simon (1962) 749-780.
[1046] Frequently noted: Axtell (1907) 87, MacMullen (1981) 6-7, Fears (1981c) 931, 935).
[1047] Fears (1981c) 931, Kajanto (1988) 35-50, Pensabene (1992) 153-168.
[1048] Kajanto (1988a) passim.

"pro salute et reditu," e.g., for Vespasian (on the event of his arrival to Rome as emperor in 70 CE), Trajan, and Caracalla (on the occasion of battles, respectively, in 101 CE and 213 CE).[1049] Similar "pro salute et reditu" formulas occur in other inscriptions throughout the early to middle empire, with a high proportion in the late Antonine and early Severan periods.

On the basis of an examination of the dedications to Fortuna Redux Kajanto has observed that Fortuna Redux is not limited to a single meaning. At times she is addressed "for the return" of private individuals, too.[1050] In addition, Fortuna Redux is, more often than not, a simple protector of emperors, rather than a guarantor of their return.[1051] Even in the capacity of "restorer" (a secondary meaning of *reducere*), Fortuna Redux frequently appears in dedications for baths; indeed she has a long lineage with bathing (e.g., Fortuna virilis, balnearis) and appears next to Asclepius and Hygieia in bathing facilities as well.[1052]

In the majority of the inscriptions related to the emperor, travel plays little part. Indeed, Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta often are mentioned together as protective deities of the emperor.[1053] Some inscriptions even record a single entity: Fortuna Redux Augusta.[1054] These imperial dedications usually date to the

[1049] Henzen (1874) 86, 122, 214, updated in Scheid et al (1998), reviewed by Herz (2000) 463-467.
[1050] Kajanto (1988a) passim.
[1051] Ibid, 40ff.
[1052] Ibid, 45-46, cf. discussion of Salus and Soteira, 282ff.
[1053] Ibid, 43ff.
[1054] Kajanto (1988a) 49 cites nine examples of Fortuna Redux Augusta from Africa, e.g., *CIL* 8.15846, 23017, 2344.

second and third centuries CE, and correspond to the Antonine and Severan emperors' private and public veneration of Fortuna (see below) and the heightened issue of dynastic succession.

Fortuna Augusta, like Fortuna Redux, became a significant part of the cult of the Roman emperor, first appearing in the form of a privately dedicated temple in Pompeii in 3 CE and on Galba's coinage in 69 CE.[1055] As discussed above, (fn. 823), the personalized epithet "Augustus/i" became appended to many cults (especially "blessings").[1056] In the case of Fortuna, the Fortuna of Servius Tullius, Sulla and Julius Caesar provided adequate precedents.[1057] The personality of Fortuna was also reflected in many Caesarian projects, completed or redesigned during the Augustan age,[1058] enhancing her position in the city and complementing the two new imperial Fortuna cults. Fortuna Augusta is conjoined in meaning with *daimon, tyche,* and *genius,* forming a nexus which gives added impetus both to the development of Roman emperor worship and added significance to the expressions of Fortuna Augusta and Fortuna Redux. Her presence is attributed not just to a generic quality or title, but reflects the popularity of her cult in the Roman world.

[1055] See below.
[1056] Fn. 823.
[1057] Augustan epithet: Fishwick (1987) 462-465.

Fortuna in the imperial cult in the West

Almost non-existent in the East,[1059] the cults of and dedications to the Augustan "blessings," including Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, are popular in the West. People of all ranks venerated Fortuna in these imperial manifestations. At the highest levels of Roman society, the members of the Arval Brethren (whose ranks Augustus joined, preserving it from obscurity)[1060] venerated Fortuna Redux in Rome, as I have noted. The cult of the Arval Brethren was located outside Rome at the sixth milestone, near one of the city's extramural Fors Fortuna temples, possibly forming a symbolic pair at an early period.[1061]

Later in conception, the cult of Fortuna Augusta received even more temples and cult settings dedicated to her than Fortuna Redux. For example, the local elite of Otricoli dedicated a sanctuary to Fortuna Augusta, which housed several statues of imperial family, in the basilica.[1062] A free-born citizen of Pompeii dedicated what is the earliest extant Temple of Fortuna Augusta,

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[1058] Chapter 4.
[1059] Noted by Fears (1981c) passim.
[1060] Scheid (1998), Beard et al (1998) I.194-196, Galinsky (1996) 292-293.
[1061] Coarelli (1988), 113, 416.
[1062] Dareggi, *BdA* (1982) 1-36, Rose (1997) 97-98.

administered by slaves (see below). The *vicomagistri* included Fortuna Augusta among the compital deities, as already discussed. Outside of Rome, the Augustales also venerated Fortuna Augusta, who received many temples dedicated to her in Africa.

Pompeii

According to the principal inscription, a certain M. Tullius, who served as both duovir and duovir quinquennalis of Pompeii, built the Temple of Fortuna Augusta "on his own land with his own money" (*CIL* 10.820). The earliest preserved dedication from this temple dates to 3 CE (*CIL* 10.824), although the temple could have been dedicated earlier. This private dedication was located not at the periphery of the city, but, at the important, heavily trafficked intersection of Via di Nola and Via di Mercurio/ Via del Foro, just across from the Terme del Foro. A covered porticus was added, joining the temple to the Forum.[1063] The pseudoperipteral tetrastyle temple was richly decorated, veneered inside and out in Luna marble, with capitals that find Augustan-age parallels.[1064] Along the walls of the cella were four niches for life-size statues, two on each side, apparently including the temple's founder and members of the imperial family.[1065]

[1063] Richardson (1988) 206, Zanker (1993) 98.
[1064] Richardson (1998) 203-205, Zanker (1993) 95-99.
[1065] Richardson (1988) 204, Zanker (1993) 99.

The central apse, at the far end, housed the cult statue, which was removed, with much of the marble veneer, after the earthquake of 62 CE.[1066]

The local official, M. Tullius, paid for the lavishly decorated temple as an expression of pietas and loyalty to the *princeps*. In a similar gesture, a contemporary, Eumachia constructed a large structure in the Pompeian forum with shrines dedicated to Pietas Augusta and Concordia Augusta, modeled after Augustan shrines in Rome.[1067] The only direct imperial architectural models for the M. Tullius' temple were the Altars of Fortuna Redux and Peace in Rome, (if not an Augustan Temple of Fortuna Redux). Tullius's precocious interest in the Fortuna of the emperor was preceded by the development of the Fortuna Sullae and Caesaris, in addition to the Sullan cult statue of Venus Pompeiorum, essentially a Tyche-figure (with mural crown and rudder) representing Pompeii, as discussed in Chapter 3, 185ff. Fortuna was also commonly featured in the lararia of private homes, although most of the evidence dates to the first century CE.[1068]

Other texts from the Pompeian temple reveal the organization of the "private cult." The *Ministri Fortunae Augustae* administered the cult, as is recorded in five inscriptions (two in situ), the earliest of which is 3/4 CE and the latest is 56 CE (*CIL* 10.824, 825, 826-828). The earliest *ministri* were slaves;

[1066] Richardson (1988) 205.
[1067] Zanker (1988a) 320ff., (1993) 105ff.
[1068] Orr (1978).

later, they were both slaves and freedmen. They were required to donate statues to the temple on a continuing basis. These *ministri* are similar to the *vicomagistri* in Rome (who administered the compital shrines, as of 7 BCE) and the Augustales, who oversaw the compital shrines in the West. Augustales were not imperial priests,[1069] but rather, represented a new social status in place of the former *collegia*, which were often politically and socially problematic, being wealthy freedmen without a voice in society before Augustus' intervention.[1070] Although Richardson asserts that Fortuna enjoyed a prominent role in the *compita*, as a compital deity,[1071] Fortuna is not a constant figure in the Augustales' care [e.g., the Herculanei Augustales' gift of Lares Augusti to the *cultores domus divinae et Fortunae Augustae* at Tibur (*CIL* 14.3561)]. Fortuna does, however, enjoy a prominent position in the life of the only Augustalis mentioned in Latin literature: Petronius' Trimalchio, who went from slave to rich freedman and depicted the event, in the company of Fortuna, in a wall painting in his house.[1072]

[1069] Beard et al (1998) I.358.
[1070] Ostrow (1985) 64-101, Ostrow (1990) 364-379, Abramenko (1993), Galinsky (1996) 310-312.
[1071] Richardson (1988) 157-158 and previous discussion above.
[1072] Petronius 29: *In deficiente vero iam porticu levatum mente in tribunal excelsum Mercurius rapiebat. Praesto erat Fortuna corncu abundanti copiosa et tres Parcae aurea pensa torquentes*. Wrede (1981) 68.

Africa

Outside of Rome and Pompeii, Fortuna enjoys more prominence in Africa than any other location in the Roman empire. The majority of the material evidence is Antonine and Severan, coinciding with the overwhelming amount of inscriptions addressing Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta, as discussed above. An arch was dedicated to Fortuna, Antoninus Pius, and Mars in Cuicul.[1073] The cult of Fortuna Augusta/Augusti is attested to at Mustis during the rule of Marcus Aurelius (*CIL* 8.1574 = 15576),[1074] and Thugga, (*CIL* 8. 26493).[1075] In Sustri, the Capitolium was dedicated in a novel manner: Fortuna Augusta (replacing Minerva) is placed between Jupiter and Juno.[1076] Manipulation of the Capitoline triad for ulterior motives was not uncommon; Nero replaced the statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with those of the Fortunae of Antium to celebrate the birth of his daughter, Augusta.[1077] In Oea (Tripoli), the Fortuna of the city appears in the pediment of the Antonine temple, flanked by Apollo and Minerva, and the Castores at the ends.[1078] As discussed above, dedications to Fortuna Redux and

[1073] Pensabene (1992) 157.
[1074] Ibid., 162.
[1075] Ibid., 165.
[1076] Ibid., 164.
[1077] Tac., *Ann*. 15.23, Brendel (1960).
[1078] Presicce, (1994) fig. 35; G. Caputo, *Il Tempio oeense al Genio della colonia,* in *Africa Italiana*, 7 (1940) 35-45; P. Romanelli, *Topografia e archeologia dell'Africa romana* (1970) 118ff., tab. 95b, 243b; Strong (1990) 48, Hommel (1954) 55-77, figs. 12, 13.

Fortuna Augusta are common in the African provinces as well, for the well-being of the emperor and the imperial family as well as private vows.[1079]

Women as Fortuna: empresses, non-elites, and the role of Fortuna in death

Empresses frequently appeared in statuary and coinage as Roman goddesses.[1080] Fortuna was no exception. Although the identification of members of the imperial family in the guise of Fortuna is not guaranteed by a cornucopia or mural crown alone,[1081] the two most frequently-identifiable empresses as Fortuna are Faustina the Younger, and Julia Domna, of the Antonine and Severan periods, respectively, coinciding with the contemporary proliferation of Fortuna in inscriptions and on historical reliefs in Rome.[1082]

The main reason for the empresses' appearance as Fortuna and appeal to Fortuna directly lies in the unique role that Fortuna cult held in Rome. Her venerable cults, including those of Fortuna Muliebris and Virilis, were among the

[1079] Kajanto (1988) passim, Pensabene (1992) passim.
[1080] Wrede (1981). Matheson (1996) 182-193, Mikocki (1995), both reviewed by D'Ambra (1998) 546-553.
[1081] D'Ambra (1998) 546-553 discusses some of the shortcomings of Mikocki's identifications. An inscription or rudder, globe, and wheel are more certain attributes of Fortuna than a sole cornucopia or mural crown. Uncertain images of Fortuna include the Fortuna/ Oikoumene figure crowning Augustus on the Gemma Augustea: Kleiner (1992) 69-72 with bibliography. Another questionable Fortuna figure is located on one of the Sebasteion relief panels: Zanker (1988a) 301 fig. 235, Kleiner (1992) 158-161. Ironically, after Nero's failed attempt to kill his mother, Agrippina Minor, she remarked to him that his Fortuna saved her from death: *benignitate deum et Fortuna eius* (Tac., *Ann*. 14.6).
[1082] Mikocki (1995) 98-100.

few cults that empowered women in a religious setting.[1083] Livia and Julia Domna's attention to the cult of Fortuna Muliebris highlighted their roles as the principal matrons in society and special relationship with Fortuna.[1084] The empresses' affinity for other goddesses was similar,[1085] but it is Fortuna that most clearly played a direct role in the succession of individual emperors and dynasties (see below) as well as producing an heir. This was important visual function of the empress, to symbolically represent fertility, even when childless.[1086]

The general population appealed to the powerful image of Fortuna, who exercised control of one's fate. Fortuna (and Tyche) appeared frequently in funerary settings, demonstrating her impact on individuals in life and death. Fortuna appeared on elite sarcophagi, including the " annona" sarcophagus,[1087] a sarcophagus now in San Lorenzo,[1088] even that of the emperor Balbinus.[1089]

[1083] Scheid (1992) 386ff.

[1084] Champeaux (1982) 335-373, Beard et al (1998) I.297.

[1085] Fortuna was closely associated with Ceres and Mater Magna (Cybele); often it is difficult to discern which goddess is represented. Ceres and imperial women: Spaeth (1996) 119-123. The tie between Mater Magna and Fortuna was also long-standing, beyond the shared iconographical feature of the mural crown. The two goddesses also share festivals days (e.g., in Degrassi 126-133, April 10 a principal sacrifice to Fortuna Primigenia the same day as the dedication of the Temple of Mater Magna on the Palatine). This long-standing tradition was perpetuated in the foundation of Constantinople, when two adjacent temples to Mater Magna and Fortuna Romana were built [Zosimus 2.30-31, Pollitt (1992) 212-213].

[1086] Davies (2000) 102-119.

[1087] Museo delle Terme, inv. #40799, found on the Via Latina, 275 CE. D'Esurac (1981) 796 (3). Fortuna, second from the right, holds a rudder and cornucopia.

[1088] San Lorenzo sarcophagus: Cahn (1981) 8 (5), Ryberg (1955) fig. 95, far left figure, with cornucopia and mural crown.

[1089] Balbinus: Kleiner (1992) 384ff., fig. 356; Fortuna is paired with Roma, which occurs also on the Mars Ultor pediment. Herodes Atticus' tomb, with Temple of Tyche, his wife a priestess of the goddess: Tobin (1993).

The association between non-elites[1090] and Fortuna provides an example, on a microcosmic level, of the entire progression and development of Fortuna from the regal period through the late empire, revealing the Italic personality, Hellenized form, and imperial-cult entity. The category, non-elite, encompasses the levels of society that were most often at the bottom: slaves, freedmen, and women. For this reason, tomb sites and inscriptions provide most of the evidence for their interaction with Fortuna and an example of the non-elites imitating and emulating elite art.

The initial cults of Fortuna in Rome were almost all associated with the sixth king of Rome, Servius Tullius.[1091] The obvious connotations of Servius, a former slave (*Servius/ servus*), and the cult of Fortuna as a favorite of slaves, took shape almost immediately from its earliest beginnings.[1092] Although the material evidence concerning Fortuna's popularity is lacking during the regal and early Republican periods, Fortuna was a goddess particularly popular with slaves and freedmen during the Late Republic and first century CE, according to inscriptional evidence.[1093] Both relief sculpture and inscriptions of tomb monuments provide other examples of the Fortuna cult. The material evidence,

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[1090] The definitions of elite and non-elite are delimited by rather loose parameters. Here, non-elite refers to the majority of people in society that remained outside the small sphere of "elite aristocrats", who held social, political, and monetary supremacy in Graeco-Roman society. The non-elites, with their varying degrees of wealth and power, cannot be equated simply with the middle and poor classes. See Wallace-Hadrill (1998) 2, (1994) 143ff.

[1091] Grottanelli (1987) 71-110; Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans* 322-323.

[1092] Coarelli (1988) 205ff. Champeaux (1982) 233-245, 475-477.

[1093] Treggiari (1969) 203; Bömer and Herz (1981) 140-153.

discussed below, demonstrates that people from all levels of society expressed themselves openly on the occasion of their death, by appealing to Fortuna.

In Pompeii, the early first century CE tomb of the freedwoman Naevoleia Tyche houses a relief sculpture of a sailing ship.[1094] From as early as Hellenistic times the motif of the sailing ship was considered a symbol for the departing dead and an iconographically-related trait of Fortuna, who was associated with safety in sailing and harbors as early as the Hellenistic period.[1095] Later, the role of Fortuna as patron of the sea became entwined with the role of the emperor.[1096] Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta became instrumental in the safety of the grain shipments to Italy, given Fortuna's long-standing role as a god of transportation and, subsequently, commerce. The Severan-dated Sacello di Silvano, already discussed on many occasions, was a cult room in the back of a bakery in Ostia depicts Alexander, the emperor Caracalla, Isis, Fortuna, and Annona (whose iconography defines her as the Fortuna of the grain dole) in a wall painting, underlining the associative iconography of Roman emperor, Egypt (through Isis and Alexander), Fortuna Augusta (or Redux), and Annona.[1097]

As stated above, when Roman emperors were commonly depicted as gods, empresses appeared as goddesses.[1098] This phenomenon filtered down through

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1094 Toynbee (1971) 125.
1095 See above.
1096 Tuck (1997) 20-66, 77-83.
1097 Bakker (1994) 134-167, 251-254, 262-270.
1098 Matheson (1996) 182-193, Mikocki (1995), both reviewed by D'Ambra (1998) 546-553.

society and was readily adopted by the freedmen class for use in art, primarily tomb settings. Two famous examples depict the deceased, Claudia Iusta and Julia Secunda, as Fortuna on their tombs.

The tomb of Claudia Iusta has become a frequently cited example of the use of Fortuna in non-elite art.[1099] There are portraits of her, depicted as Fortuna, her husband, C. Iulius Germanus, and their daughter. According to the inscription *Fortunae sacrum/ Claudiae Iustae* (*CIL* 6.3691), the site was dedicated to Fortuna. It is possible that, given the link between the Fortuna shrine and the portrayal of Claudia Iusta as Fortuna, she paid for the funerary monument. Just as the iconography of the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche in Pompeii suggests that she paid for the tomb, it appears that Claudia Iusta also paid for her own funerary monument. Claudia could be depicting herself as the symbol of the monetary fortune of her family, just as Fortuna appears prominently in the fresco depicting the life (and attained wealth) of the freedman Trimalchio and throughout the wall paintings in the House of the Vettii, freedmen brothers who struck it rich in post-earthquake Pompeii.[1100]

Likewise, the tomb of Julia Secunda is an important document of the meaning of Fortuna in Roman society.[1101] According to the funerary inscription, Julia died in a storm at sea before reaching the age of twelve. The tomb

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[1099] Wrede (1981) 233-234; Matheson (1996) 189; Kleiner (1987) 253-256.

[1100] Fortuna appears prominently in two wall paintings in the house, one by the strongbox (*arca*): discussed in Clarke (1991) 223.

commemorates her death in an interesting manner. Julia is depicted as Diana. Next to her is her mother, Cornelia Tyche, depicted as Fortuna. The pun off of her name is striking, although, in light of the previous funerary monuments, not unique. How visibly more noticeable the tomb's message is, however, when one considers the nature of Julia's death. Fortuna was a popular goddess of sailors from Hellenistic times in the Greek and Roman world, even appearing as good luck charms for maritime travelers. The irony of her tragic death becomes more striking in light of Cornelia's self-portrait, as the fickle goddess who could have protected her daughter, but did not.[1102]

Many epitaphs record the side of Fortuna, as fickle goddess.[1103] One such epitaph, *CE* 443.II in Rome, which concludes, *placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulcrum*, is more than an "ironic question", as Lattimore notes. It is a direct quote from Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, 8.793. It refers to Pompey's death and burial, which is conducted by Fortuna herself. The Roman epitaph is not just quoting a line of poetry, but, aligning its dedicator with a bitter and harsh end, addresses the malevolence of Fortuna. It may also be possible that Lucan borrowed from the common use of Fortuna as tomb addressee for the creation of Pompey's tomb in the *Bellum Civile*.

[1101] Wrede (1981) 234-235, Matheson (1996) 190.
[1102] This motif may find a parallel in the front of a child's sarcophagus, where Fortuna appears in a maritime setting. Is it a generic scene symbolizing the afterlife, or a commentary on the way that the child died, at sea? Huskinson (1996) 114 sect. 20.
[1103] E.g., Lattimore (1942) 155.

The inscriptional evidence for the plaintive cries of the deceased against Fortuna and Tyche far outweighs the sculptural evidence. These inscriptions date back to the Hellenistic times.[1104] But through the few well-preserved sculptural examples cited above, dating to the first and second centuries CE, it becomes clear that there would have been many more artistic depictions of Fortuna in a negative light as fickle, blind fate, to accompany some of the harsh inscriptions against her**.** Fortuna remained unpredictable, even for the emperor; this characteristic of the goddess was never omitted or excised by the imperial family. The following sections review the capricious nature of Fortuna toward the emperors and would-be emperors, her role in the domestic and private spheres of emperors' lives, and her role as dynastic guarantor.

Fortuna for better and *worse*: the issue of succession

Imperatorem esse Fortunae est: Fortuna makes a man emperor (*S.H.A. Ant. Elagab*. 34). Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Augusta are legitimizers of the emperor, in place of late Republican precedents, such as the Fortuna Sullae and Fortuna Caesaris, following both venerable Roman and Greek models, i.e., Servius Tullius' Fortuna and the Tyche of Alexandria and Syracuse. In the first and second centuries CE, after Augustus, other manifestations of Fortuna were

[1104] Pollitt (1986) 1-4; Lattimore (1942) 149-150, 154-156.

constantly appealed to, to confirm dynasties and celebrate heirs. These include Fortuna Primigenia from Praeneste, the Fortunae of Antium, as well as new formulations of the goddess, particularly in the Antonine and Severan reigns.

The role of Fortuna at Praeneste in the imperial period

The cult of Fortuna at Praeneste enjoyed considerable prominence during the imperial period, always more closely affiliated with the persona of the emperor.[1105] Impressive villas of various emperors were located close by the sanctuary because of the impressive setting, abundance of water, and established rapport between the goddess and the emperor.[1106] The main concern of the emperors in their ceaseless devotion to the goddess was their own fate and that of their heirs. Through personal experiences with the cult [e.g., Tiberius' illness and recuperation there (Gell. 16.13), death of Marcus Aurelius' son, Verus Caesar in the imperial villa], in the form of veneration,[1107] dedications, and personal participation in the oracles (Suet., *Tib*. 63, *Dom*. 15), the emperors sustained the notion of an all-powerful deity in her most famous sanctuary in Italy.

The surviving material evidence from the imperial period, most of which is located in the museum in modern Palestrina, on the site of sanctuary,

[1105] Chapter 2, fn. 199.
[1106] Imperial villa in Praeneste: Augustus, Tiberius, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius: Coarelli (1993) 126.

demonstrates that the city became a repository for honoring the emperor.[1108] The material includes the Augustan-period altars to Securitas Augusta and Pax Augusta.[1109] In addition, an altar dedicated to Divus Augustus and one of the Augustan "Grimani" reliefs were later reused in the so-called macellum. Agnoli has recently identified the "macellum" as a fourth century CE structure utilized by the Augustales to venerate the emperor.[1110] A relief depicting Trajan in a triumphal procession formed part of the funerary monument of Q. Fabius Postuminus, who fought for the emperor on the Danube and later took up residence and died in Praeneste.[1111]

Possibly the most impressive artifacts in the museum, though rarely acknowledged, are two colossal (79 and 90 cm in height, respectively), Luna marble acrolithic statue heads of Augustus and Faustina the Elder, the wife of Antoninus Pius. Agnoli's recent examination of the heads concludes that the heads are contemporaries, pendants in a public monument, probably associated with the imperial cult.[1112] Although their original context is unknown, it is probable that the statue of Faustina the Elder was portrayed as Fortuna, parallel to common depictions of the empress on contemporary coinage, as Fortuna

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[1107] Chapter 2, fn. 199.
[1108] Agnoli (2000) passim.
[1109] Altar of Securitas Augusta: Agnoli (2000) 169-173, Altar of Pax Augusta: Agnoli (2000) 174.
[1110] Altar of Divus Augustus: Agnoli (2000) 175-178 "Grimani" Relief: Agnoli (2000) 152-160. "Macellum" Agnoli (1998) 157-167, Agnoli (2000) 206-215.
[1111] Musso (1987) 1-40, Agnoli (2000) 216-234 with bibliography. A slave (*servus publicus*) whispers in the ear of the emperor in his triumphal chariot, an accurate detail of the triumph, which also recalled the role of cult of Fortuna Respiciens in the triumph

Aeternitas.[1113] Furthermore, the depiction of Faustina the Elder with Augustus, rather than her husband Antoninus Pius, represents a symbolic couple of Faustina/ Fortuna and Augustus, Fortuna's favorite who established the monarchy in Rome (notwithstanding his own problems with Fortuna and his heirs).

Augustus' ill-fated heirs: Fortuna's early role in imperial succession

Although the Altar of Fortuna Redux (*RG* 11) is cited often enough in the *Res Gestae,* the other reference to Fortuna in Augustus' biography is too often ignored. "Filios meos quos iuvenes mihi eripuit **Fortuna** Gaium et Lucium Caesares (*RG* 14)." Augustus recalls a poignant fact that plagues the duration of his entire principate: quest for an heir. His recognition that Fortuna is the agent responsible for his adopted sons' deaths is not just figurative language, nor does it recall the aforementioned Fortuna Redux. Rather, it underlines a key aspect of fickle Fortuna that already was embedded in Roman culture. In fact, as Nock has observed, Greek and Latin have no distinction between capital and small letters. There was only one way to write the words fortuna and Fortuna, so even the stock phrase meaning "chance" carried, to some degree, connotations of the divinity.[1114] Therefore, the *Res Gestae* simultaneously presents two very contradictory facets of Fortuna, typical of the polyvalent definition of Fortuna in Graeco-Roman

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[1112] Agnoli (2000) 105-107, 108-109.

[1113] The deceased empress is depicted as Fortuna, holding a corncuopia, rudder and globe. E.g., *BMCRE* IV 43 285, 7.7, Lichocka (1997) 216, 281-282.

society. The dialogue that began centuries ago between the positive and negative aspects of Fortuna is further regularized under Augustus. He never forgets that Fortuna is forever a goddess that both gives and takes away, even while he proclaims himself as her favorite, the standard motif of the victorious Roman general.

The idea of fickle Fortuna is paralleled in the *Tabula of Cebes*, which probably dates to the first century AD.[1115] As discussed in the second chapter, the text is an ekphrasis of an imaginary painting, which centers on Tyche, blind and tottering on a rock. To the masses, she appears to be Good Fortuna if she gives things of value in society: reputation, nobility, children, monarchies, kingdoms; Bad Fortuna, if she takes them away (8.2-4). The gifts of Fortuna apply not to the crowds, as described by the text, but, rather, to the powerful individuals in Graeco-Roman society who habitually propitiated her. Augustus is one such individual who obtained from Fortuna's grabbag control over all kingdoms, but fell short of obtaining children. Therefore, while Augustus rules over the most powerful nation in the Mediterranean world and safely returns home under the auspices of Fortuna, whom he identifies as favorable, he is also bereft of an heir, through the same fickle goddess.

[1114] Nock in Stewart (1972) 670.

[1115] For a review of the scholarship, see Fitzgerald and White (1983) 1-4.

The Julio-Claudians

Tiberius did not enjoy a consistently positive relationship with Fortuna. The town of his birthplace, Fundi, celebrated set up a statue of Felicitas in honor of Tiberius (Suet., *Tib*. 5). In 41 BCE, in the course of the Perugian conflict between Fulvia, Mark Antony's wife, and the forces of Octavian, Fulvia fled to Praeneste with her army and followers, including Ti. Claudius Nero, his wife Livia (Octavian's future wife) and her son Tiberius (App., *B.C.* 5.21-24). As mentioned above, during an illness, Tiberius, residing in the Augustan villa in Praeneste, was healed; in thanks he granted to Praeneste its former status of municipium (Gell., 16.13).[1116] On another occasion, in an attempt to curtail oracles in Italy, he sent for the lots (*sortes*) used in the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia. Such attempt to control the oracle apparently was thwarted by the goddess herself (Suet., *Tib*. 63). Despite Tiberius' apparently unsteady rapport with Fortuna the earliest known *aedituus* of the Temple of Fortuna Redux dates to the reign of Tiberius, possibly a continuation of Julius Caesar's and Augustus' interest and veneration of Fortuna in Rome (Chapter 4). Furthermore, his dedication of a temple to Fors Fortuna in the *Horti Caesaris* (Ovid, *Fast*. 6.773-786) publicly proclaimed his own interest in the goddess.

Julio-Claudian interest in Fortuna as guarantor of dynastic succession is manifested first through the double cornucopiae of Fortuna on coinage, each horn

of plenty capped with a twin of Drusus, echoed in the coinage of Claudius, celebrating his two daughters and son.[1117] In 37/38 CE, Gaius promoted his own family, depicting his sisters depicting his sisters as Securitas (Agrippina II), Concordia (Drusilla) and Fortuna (Julia).[1118] This was a dramatic break with the traditional representation of the "blessings" and "virtues," until this moment relegated to generic figures.[1119]

Both Gaius and Nero were born in Antium (Suet., *Gaius* 6, *Nero* 8), which may have been the motivation behind their attention to the cult of Fortuna there. Gaius consulted the oracle of the Fortunae at Antium (Suet., *Gaius,* 57). Upon obtaining the throne, Nero continually propitiated the Fortunae of his hometown throughout the duration of his reign. In particular, he constructed a lavish villa on the site of preexisting Republican structures.[1120] He also vastly improved the size and scale of the city's port, already prominent through Augustus' use of it on more than one occasion (i.e., as discussed in Horace's *Ode* I.35, and preceded by the Praenestans' use of it in the second century BCE).[1121]

[1116] Fortuna frequently appears as a healing deity with Asclepius and Hygieia: 282-283.
[1117] Chapter 2, fn. 222-223.
[1118] *BMCRE* I 152 no. 36-37, Fears (1981c) 893 p. 5.26, Rose (1997) 33, fn. 16. Claudius apparently imitated this type, depicting his children, Octavia III, Britannicus, and Antonia III: Caesarea in Cappadoccia, 46-48 CE, *RPC* 3627, 3656, Rose (1997) 41.
[1119] Fears (1981c) 893, Rose (1997) 32.
[1120] Imperial villa in Antium, from Augustan period to the third century CE: Coarelli (1993) 295-296. Recently: Brandizzi Vittucci (2000) 53ff. on the villa, most of which dates to the second century CE (Hadrianic).
[1121] Brandizzi Vittucci (2000) 21ff.

Nero also paid particular attention to the Temple of the Fortunae of Antium, recently identified with Antium's Temple of Fortuna Equestris.[1122] To the celebrate the birth of his daughter, Nero replaced the cult statue of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome with the two gilded cult statues of Fortuna from Antium (Tac., *ann*. 15.23). A similar replacement of Jupiter with Fortuna was later witnessed in cult settings in Africa, as discussed above, as the goddess of Chance became, more frequently, represented as Fortuna Panthea.[1123]

In Rome, the cult of Fortuna Virgo on the Esquiline became incorporated into the vast architectural complex of the Domus Aurea. Nero reconstructed it in precious, and costly, alabaster stone (Pliny, *N.H*. 36.163).[1124] In addition, Nero's recognition of the power of Fortuna also may be seen in the Colossus (120 Roman feet tall), which he set up on the grounds of the Domus Aurea as a gigantic Lar or genius for his vestibule, because it may have been decorated with the attributes of Fortuna, including a rudder resting on a globe.[1125]

Aborted attempts to become emperor: Sejanus and Galba

[1122] Tac., *ann*. 3.71. Brandizzi Vittucci (2000) 59-63.
[1123] Fears (1981c) 933ff., *CIL* 10.1557.
[1124] *LTUR* (1995) L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Seiani, aedes," II.278.
[1125] The relationship between the Lares, genius, and Fortuna has been explored above. The Colossus: Lugli *Roma Antica* (1968) 317-318, *LTUR* (1993), C. Lega, "Colossus: Nero," I.295-298. Bergmann (1993). Bergmann (1998), reviewed in Ling (2000) 532-542. Ling sustains that the Colossus was completed by Vespasian, under whom the rudder and globe combination first

Sejanus and Galba represent two individuals who sought the monarchy and failed, Sejanus assassinated by Tiberius and Galba actually becoming emperor though only for a brief time. In these attempts, each individual appealed to Fortuna through personalized relationships with the goddess (i.e., private veneration and familial ties), which then became manifested publicly, through monuments and coinage.

Sejanus' bid to overthrow Tiberius failed, but his own plans to promote himself in Rome did include his prominent cultivation of the cult of Fortuna Virgo (in the past identified with the S. Omobono cult) on the Esquiline.[1126] As an outsider of Rome, Sejanus fell back on his own ancestral deity for patronage. The Gens Seia hailed from Volsinii, which, according to Livy (7.3.7) was the Etruscan town whose patron goddess was Nortia. Nortia, in turn, was often equated with Fortuna (schol. Juvenal 10.74). Sejanus simultaneously promoted his ancestral ties to Fortuna through the Etruscan Nortia, and aligned himself with an important guarantor of kingly power (through Servius' Fortuna, to whom the temple was dedicated), by locating his house next to the Temple of Fortuna Virgo, and possibly placing the statue of Servius (or Fortuna) in his own house (Dio 58.7).[1127]

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appeared in the coinage of Fortuna (as argued in Chapter 2). Therefore, the rudder-globe iconography of the Colossus is another factor in favor of a Flavian date for the statue.

[1126] *LTUR* (1995) L. Anselmino, M. J. Strazzulla, "Fortuna Seiani, aedes," II.278.

[1127] Strazzulla (1993) passim.

Galba also promoted his own personal relationship with Fortuna, possibly through his own Etruscan heritage (again evoking the relationship between Fortuna and Etruscan Nortia). Suetonius relates that Fortuna had approached Galba in Tusculum, in the form of a two-foot high bronze statue. Perhaps Galba's worship of Fortuna intentionally evoked Servius Tullius' own veneration of Fortuna, and the mysterious statue of Fortuna in the Temple of Fortuna Virgo (also utilized by Sejanus). Galba dedicated the statue in a private shrine in his home in Tusculum; in compensation, she eventually made him emperor. His reign was brief, marked by Fortuna's sudden abandonment, when he sacrificed to Venus (the ancestor of the gens Julia) instead of his own patron deity, Fortuna, as she was insulted by his neglect.[1128]

It was also during his rule that Fortuna Augusta first appeared on Roman coinage.[1129] Galba's private worship of Fortuna (similar to that of his fellow Etruscan, Sejanus) and Fortuna Augusta's appearance on coins seems to be more than a coincidence. Given the presence of the novel title Fortuna Augusta on coins at that time, Galba may have viewed his own private Fortuna officially as Fortuna Augusta, once he had become emperor. In this context, Fortuna Augusta

[1128] Suet., *Galba* 4, 17. The role of Fortuna and Nortia in the demise of the Roman emperor is also apparent in the conspiracy of Piso against Nero (Tac., *Ann*. 15.53), the subject of recent analysis by B. Spaeth. I thank the author for allowing me to see her article, "Toward the Downfall of a Tyrant: Religious Symbolism in the Conspiracy of Piso," before final publication. Her research demonstrates the strong ties between Ceres and Fortuna as well as the longevity of the cult and Temple of Nortia at Volsinii and Nortia's relevance in the politics and religion of imperial Rome.

officially joined Fortuna Redux as a symbol of the emperor and his power, following the independent creation of the cult of Fortuna Augusta in Pompeii. .

The Flavians

In becoming emperor, Vespasian propitiated the cult of Fortuna Redux, for a number of reasons. First, he distinguished himself from Galba's newly-venerated cult of Fortuna Augusta. Upon his arrival in Rome, he was honored by the Arval Brethren with a sacrifice to Fortuna Redux (cited above, 317). In addition, arriving in Rome for the first time as the emperor, (rather than returning as the confirmed emperor), Vespasian utilized the image of Fortuna Redux as a legitimizing device and guarantor of his new rule and dynasty, later imitated by Septimius Severus, when he began his own reign.

Vespasian likened himself to the ever-popular Augustus, rather than the Julio-Claudian emperors, by marking his victorious approach to the city with special attention to the altar of Fortuna Redux and by frequently minting Fortuna Redux on coins.[1130] The Flavian interest in Fortuna was readily adopted by succeeding dynasties, especially the Antonines and Severans. Vespasian may

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[1129] Rev.: Fortuna standing left, holding rudder (resting on globe) in right hand, cornucopia in left. *BMCRE* I 352, 241 pl. 55.6.

[1130] Fears (1981b) 899, *BMCE* II 69 no. 353, 70 no. 356, 71 no. 363, 74 no. 369, 76 no.373, 77 no. 381, 114 no. 529; 127, 130, 135, 140 no. 630, 148 no. 655-656, 152 no. 667, 166, 172 no. 732, 182, 184 no. 756-759, 195, 199, 202, 203 no. 815, 207 no. 833-836, 208 no. 835-836, 209.

have promoted his association with Fortuna Redux even further since, as I have previously noted, Vespasian restored Temples of Honos and Virtus after the Neronian fire, as a sign of his reverence for those venerable temples. The location of the structures would have held added meaning for Vespasian, arriving in the city through the Porta Capena. He may even have repaired the Altar of Fortuna Redux at that time, probably damaged by the same fire, since it was in close proximity to the temples (*RG* 11).

In addition to the Fortuna Augusta now appeared the Fortuna Flavia (*CIL* 6..187), as a clear distinction both from the Julio-Claudians as well as Galba. In the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, Fortuna figured prominently. Vespasian used Fortuna Redux to found not only to establish his rule but his dynasty.

Fortuna also accompanied his sons, sometimes for better (Titus) or worse (Domitian). Titus's Fortuna accompanied him in battle (e.g., Joseph. *BJ* 6.413, Dio 72.23). Domitian, who dedicated a new arch (or gate) and temple of Fortuna Redux, in celebration of his defeat of the Germans in 93 CE (Martial 8.65-76), had even less luck with the oracle at Praeneste than Tiberius (cited above). Although he habitually commended each year to the goddess (who always granted him a favorable omen), the year of his death, the goddess foresaw a year full of bloodshed, i.e., his own assassination (Suet., *Dom*. 15).

The rise of the Flavians signaled a new turn in the development of Fortuna, in addition to the contemporary popularity of "Isis-Fortuna" statuettes.[1131] Other Flavian interest in the cult of Fortuna includes the reconstruction of the Iseum Metellium on the Oppian hill, with its cultic links among Fortuna, Isis, and Minerva.[1132] A similar monument in Minugua, Spain was built by during the Flavian period, imitating, like the imperial Iseum Metellium, the terraced sanctuary of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, and dedicated to Fortuna Crescens Augusta and Hercules Augustus.[1133] Fortuna or Abundantia, holding a cornucopia, accompanies the Flavian emperors Vespasian and Titus in the shrine of the Augustales in Misenum.[1134] I have also suggested that the base of a fountain between the Theater of Marcellus and the Temple of Apollo in Circo was decorated with a Flavian, Pentelic marble tholos surrounding a black-stone statue of Fortuna, evoking ties between the emperor and Fortuna as well as ties between the Tyche of Antioch and Fortuna in Rome.

The Antonines and Severans

[1131] Josephus *Bellum Judaicum* 6.413, 7.1-4; Tacitus *Historiae* 4.81. Writing during the Flavian dynasty, Pliny (*N.H.* 2.22) attests the popularity of fickle Fortuna during his life.
[1132] Fn. 757.
[1133] Coarelli (1996) 501-514.
[1134] De Franciscis (1991).

Trajan dedicated a Temple of Fortuna *Omnium* in Rome (location unknown), on January first (Lydus, *Mens*. 4.7).[1135] The existence of this temple is credible, since the veneration of Fortuna Panthea was an imperial phenomenon.[1136] Furthermore, January first had long been associated with the cult of Fortuna. Domitian venerated the cult of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste annually as a way of commemorating the new year (Suet., *Dom*. 15), and the cult of Augusta Stata Mater was likewise celebrated January first in Rome.[1137]

Apparently, Hadrian also favored the figure of Fortuna and acknowledged her role in his own ascendancy to the throne, setting direct precedents for the Antonines. On a panel on the Arch of Trajan in Beneventum, a mural-crowned woman, standing between Trajan and Hadrian, extends an arm toward Hadrian, as if acknowledging (and symbolically representing) the succession from Trajan to Hadrian.[1138] Fortuna also appears, wearing a mural crown, on a cameo in an eagle-drawn chariot with Hadrian (sometimes identified as Julian the Apostate) crowning him with a wreath.[1139]

Hadrianic coinage underlines the same relationship between the emperor and Fortuna in a number of novel representations. Fortuna shakes hands with

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[1135] *LTUR* (1995) J. Aronen, "Fortuna (Παντων Τυχη)," II.273, Richardson (1992) 155.
[1136] Fears (1981c) 933ff.
[1137] *LTUR* (1995) L. Chioffi, "Fortuna Stata," II.278, Richardson (1992) 157-158.
[1138] The scene is interpreted in many ways. Simon (1979/ 1980), Kleiner (1992) 224-229 fig. 193, Rausa (1997) 133.120, Torelli (1997).
[1139] Strong (1990) 308 fig. 246, Smith (1994) 99 fig. 68.

Hadrian, reminiscent of the scene from the Arch of Beneventum.[1140] The special bond between emperor and goddess of Chance was also reiterated in the Greek East, for example, at Sparta and Antioch, in the form of Tyche statuary, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 1. The representation of Hadrian's designated heir Lucius Aelius occurs on the obverse of some coins, with Spes and Fortuna on the reverse, as symbols for the hope and potential success of his son;[1141] it was not to be, however, as Lucius died before succeeding Hadrian. For such a thorny issue as succession, often disastrous for imperial dynasties beginning with Augustus, Fortuna remained a constant image and recipient of cult in Rome. In addition, the popularity of the Fortuna Redux issues with Hadrian, and later Marcus Aurelius, may also be due in part to the fact that these emperors, especially Hadrian, were rarely in Rome; their return, therefore, would have been an occasion to celebrate the deity that often oversaw the emperor's safe return to Rome.

Antoninus Pius made Fortuna part of his private cult, placing a gilded statue of Fortuna in his bedroom, *Fortuna aurea*, echoing the private Fortuna cults of Servius Tullius and the tight associations with Fortuna among the late Republican dynasts.[1142] Antoninus Pius considered the statue of Fortuna a

[1140] *BMCRE* III.321, 634, p. 59.2
[1141] Aureus, *BMCRE* III 322, 643-644, pl. 59, 15. Sometimes, a single goddess appears with the flower attribute of Spes and the cornucopia, rudder and globe of Fortuna: *BMCRE* III, 332, 736, Lichocka (1997) 283-284.
[1142] S.H.A. *Ant.* 12.5.

dynastic symbol, passing it on to his successor Marcus Aurelius, who also kept the statue in his bedroom as well.[1143]

In addition, Antonine provincial coinage contains a plethora of city and provincial Tychai, the so-called *homonoia* coinage, that venerate the Roman emperor, denoting the regularization of provincial depictions that originated during the Republican period but were refined under Augustus and Hadrian.[1144] At this time, as I have demonstrated, the cult of Fortuna Redux appears most frequently on historical reliefs in Rome, in relation to the temple and the emperor's triumph.

Antoninus Pius's wife, Faustina the Elder, actually appeared as Fortuna Aeternitas, possibly in the sanctuary of Fortuna in Praeneste, previously discussed.[1145] Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius' heir, reissued the representation of the Altar of Fortuna Redux, the first time since Augustus.[1146] Marcus Aurelius' son Commodus issued a coin of the Altar of Fortuna Redux and a new aspect of Fortuna in his coinage: Fortuna Manens.[1147] Contemporaneously, Fortuna Stabilis appeared (e.g., *CIL* 3.5156) both forms of Fortuna acknowledging the somewhat uncertain aspect of Fortuna, which was increasingly prevalent in the second century CE as the issue of succession became more pressing.

[1143] S.H.A. *Ant.* 12.5, *Marc.* 7.3. The adopted children of Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, were celebrated as if twins granted by Fortuna: *BMCRE* IV.97, 698, pl. 14.3, in continuation of Julio-Claudian precedents: Chapter 2, fn. 223-224.
[1144] Toynbee (1934), Harl (1987), Kampmann (1996), (1998).
[1145] See also Mikocki (1995) 61-62.
[1146] Marcus Aurelius: *BMCRE* IV, 480, 652, pl. 66, 12-13, Lichocka (1997) 277ff.

Many other episodes demonstrate the public importance of Fortuna during the Antonine period that matched the emperors' private veneration of the goddess. We have already examined the Hadrianic foundations in the Fortuna S. Omobono "area sacra," though whether or not the constructions are related to the Temple of Fortuna Redux remains to be seen.

The Severans adopted the intimate, familial Fortuna cult of the Antonines. Septimius worshipped the same statue of Fortuna in his bedroom, ordering its duplication, one for each of his sons, Caracalla and Geta. The replication of the statue did not take place, and the statue was alternated nightly in the respective bedrooms [1148] Septimius Severus also reissued the coins depicting the Altar of Fortuna Redux, and Julia Domna, like Faustina the Elder, appeared as Fortuna Aeternitas, in addition to Abundantia, linked with Fortuna.[1149] Like Livia before her, she also renewed interest in the venerable cult of Fortuna Muliebris in Rome.[1150]

In the Roman provinces of North Africa, there were two temples dedicated to Fortuna and two temples and one arch dedicated to Fortuna Augusta, of Antonine date,[1151] followed by the double appearance of Fortuna on the Arch in Leptis Magna as a guarantor of the dynastic succession between Septimius

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[1147] Fortuna Manens: *BMCRE* IV.731, 231-232, p. 98, 14, Lichocka (1997) 207-209.
[1148] S.H.A. *Sev.* 23.5-6.
[1149] Chapter 2, 70ff. Lichocka (1997) 176, 281ff. Kleiner (1992) fig. 207, 325-329.
[1150] Fn. 1084.

Severus and his designated heirs, Geta and Caracalla. In one scene, Fortuna hovers over Septimius Severus on his Arch in Leptis Magna.[1152]

The second and third centuries witnessed the further transformation of Fortuna, as an essential figure to ensure the emperor's rule and dynastic succession. Dedications to Fortuna Augusta signified, more strongly, loyalty to the imperial cult; in the late imperial period, citizens used her to address the more mundane aspects of daily life in the ancient world, a routinization that has parallels in other areas of late imperial art and iconography.[1153] Fortuna Redux, as we have seen, remained an equally important cult in Rome as late as the early fifth century CE.[1154]

CONCLUSION

In the imperial period, Fortuna was a multivalent goddess, who continued to accrete meanings, and iconographical features (such as the globe and wheel) in

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[1151] Temples: Mustis, Sustri (to Fortuna Augusta) Oea, Thugga (to Fortuna of city) and the arch is dedicated to Fortuna and Mars in Cuicul. See Pensabene (1992) 153-168.

[1152] Panel D depicts the Concordia Augustorum: Septimius Severus holding Caracalla's hand, Geta standing between them, while Fortuna hovers above, Julia Domna off to the side. Kleiner 340-343 fig. 310 with bibliography. Another relief from the arch [Strong (1990) 225 fig. 159] depicts the emperor and empress as Jupiter and Juno, flanked by Minerva (right) and Fortuna (left), a Capitoline triad composition with the addition of Fortuna.

[1153] *IGRR* 3.260; Fears (1981b) 931, 934.

[1154] Fortuna continues as the object of emperors' focus in the third through fifth centuries. I have previously cited Fortuna Redux on the medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and the existence of the Temple of Fortuna Redux in Rome in the early fifth century (Claudian, *panegyricus* 6). In the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus (who equates Fortuna with Nemesis; 11.14.25-26) Fortuna

the cultural setting of Rome, according to the evolving needs of her worshippers. As Servius Tullius' guarantor and related to the Hellenistic cults of Tyche in Alexandria and Syracuse, Fortuna remained a complex, and uncertain, goddess who was continually sought after and won over, a key goddess associated with victory and the triumph in Rome.

The cult, as well as architecture of her cult exerted a powerful role in the Caesarian and Augustan phases of the Campus Martius in Rome. The interconnections among Fortuna (e.g., Fortuna Huiusce Diei), Fortuna-related cults (e.g., the Pantheon), and architecture ensembles (e.g., structures by the Porta Capena and the Porta Carmentalis) underline the pervasiveness of Fortuna in imperial Roman society, as well as the cosmic role of Fortuna in the lives of Roman citizens, from slave to emperor. The novel Altar of Fortuna Redux and Temple of Fortuna Redux conveyed a further series of associations that promoted the emperor's relationship with Fortuna Redux, as well as the hierarchical order between the Roman citizen, emperor, city, and Fortuna, as Fortuna represented the emperor's power over the oikoumene. The coin types created in the imperial period mirrored the prominence of Fortuna in cult, as both legitimized dynasties and individual emperors as well as attempted to ensure dynastic succession. The material evidence, in the form of cultic practice, artistic and architectural representations, and literary descriptions, has presented a complex nexus of

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constantly appears and effects the lives of the emperors Probus (276-282), Constantius (305-306),

associations between Fortuna and her worshippers, manifesting her unbalanced, though necessary, role in the success of the individual and the city, in particular, the Roman emperor and Rome.

and Valentinian (364-374).

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Vita

Darius Andre Arya was born in Buffalo, New York on February 24, 1971, the son of Sirous Arya and Martha M. Arya. After completing his work and receiving a Classics Diploma at Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1989, he entered the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. During the spring semester of 1990, he studied in Rome, at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies, administered by Stanford University. He received the degree Bachelor of the Arts from the University of Pennsylvania in May 1993. The following year he attended the Post-Baccalaureate program in Classics at the University of Pennsylvania. In September 1994, he entered the Graduate School of the University of Texas. He received the degree Master of the Arts there in 1996. He received a Fulbright Scholarship in Italy, from October 1998 to July 1999. He was awarded a Rome Prize award from the American Academy in Rome from September 1999 to August 2000. He accepted a University Fellowship from the University of Texas at Austin from September 2001 to May 2002.

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